GREEK POETRY OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

AN ANTHOLOGY

SELECTED AND EDITED BY
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PREFACE

Although the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity are popular subjects for undergraduate and graduate study, the Greek poetry of the period remains unfamiliar even to most literary specialists. The aim of this anthology is to provide guidance along some of the little known byways of Imperial Greek poetry. In format the book is modelled on *A Hellenistic anthology* (Cambridge, 1988); and the selection has been made partly with a view to illustrating some of the ways in which Hellenistic poetry continued to influence later writers. I hope that the theme of continuity and change within the Greek poetic tradition may be seen as a useful unifying theme in this collection of apparently heterogeneous texts composed in diverse parts of the Roman Empire during a period of some six centuries.

For advice and information of various kinds I am indebted to Professor W. G. Arnott, Dr M. Campbell, Dr W. E. H. Cockle, Mr N. C. Denyer, Professor E. W. Handley (who in addition was kind enough to read the proofs), Dr R. C. T. Parker, and Mr C. R. Whittaker. My colleague Dr R. D. Dawe most generously provided detailed comments on a volume of poetry the contents of which he found less than congenial. The general editors, Professor P. E. Easterling and Professor E. J. Kenney, suggested and effected many improvements. The staff of Cambridge University Press, and in particular Susan Moore, have prepared and produced the book with their customary accuracy and despatch.

Cambridge
September 1993

N.H.

ABBREVIATIONS

CHCL I	*The Cambridge history of Classical literature.* I *Greek literature*, eds. P. E. Easterling and B. M. W. Knox (Cambridge, 1985).
Denniston, *GP*	J. D. Denniston, *The Greek particles* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1954).
FGE	*Further Greek epigrams: epigrams before* A.D. *50 from the Greek Anthology and other sources ...*, ed. D. L. Page (Cambridge, 1981).
FGH	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin, 1923–).
Goodwin, *GMT*	W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the moods and tenses of the Greek verb* (London, 1889).
GP	*The Garland of Philip and some contemporary epigrams*, eds. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (Cambridge, 1968).
HA	*A Hellenistic anthology*, ed. N. Hopkinson (Cambridge, 1988).
HE	*The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams*, eds. A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (Cambridge, 1965).
Keydell	*Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca*, ed. R. Keydell (Berlin, 1959).
K.–G.	R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre* (Hanover/Leipzig, 1898–1904).
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich/Munich, 1981–).
LSJ	*A Greek–English lexicon*, eds. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Stuart Jones, R. McKenzie (9th edn with Supplement, Oxford, 1968).
Migne	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66).
Moulton (–Turner)	*A grammar of New Testament Greek*, vols. 1–2 ed. J. H. Moulton (Edinburgh, 1908–28), vols. 3–4 ed. N. Turner (Edinburgh, 1963–76).

PMG	*Poetae melici Graeci*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962).
SLG	*Supplementum lyricis Graecis*, ed. D. L. Page (Oxford, 1974).
SVF	*Stoicorum ueterum fragmenta*, ed. J. von Arnim (Stuttgart, 1905–24).
TGL	*Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, eds. B. Hase, G. Dindorf and L. Dindorf (Paris, 1831–65).
West, *GM*	M. L. West, *Greek metre* (Oxford, 1982).

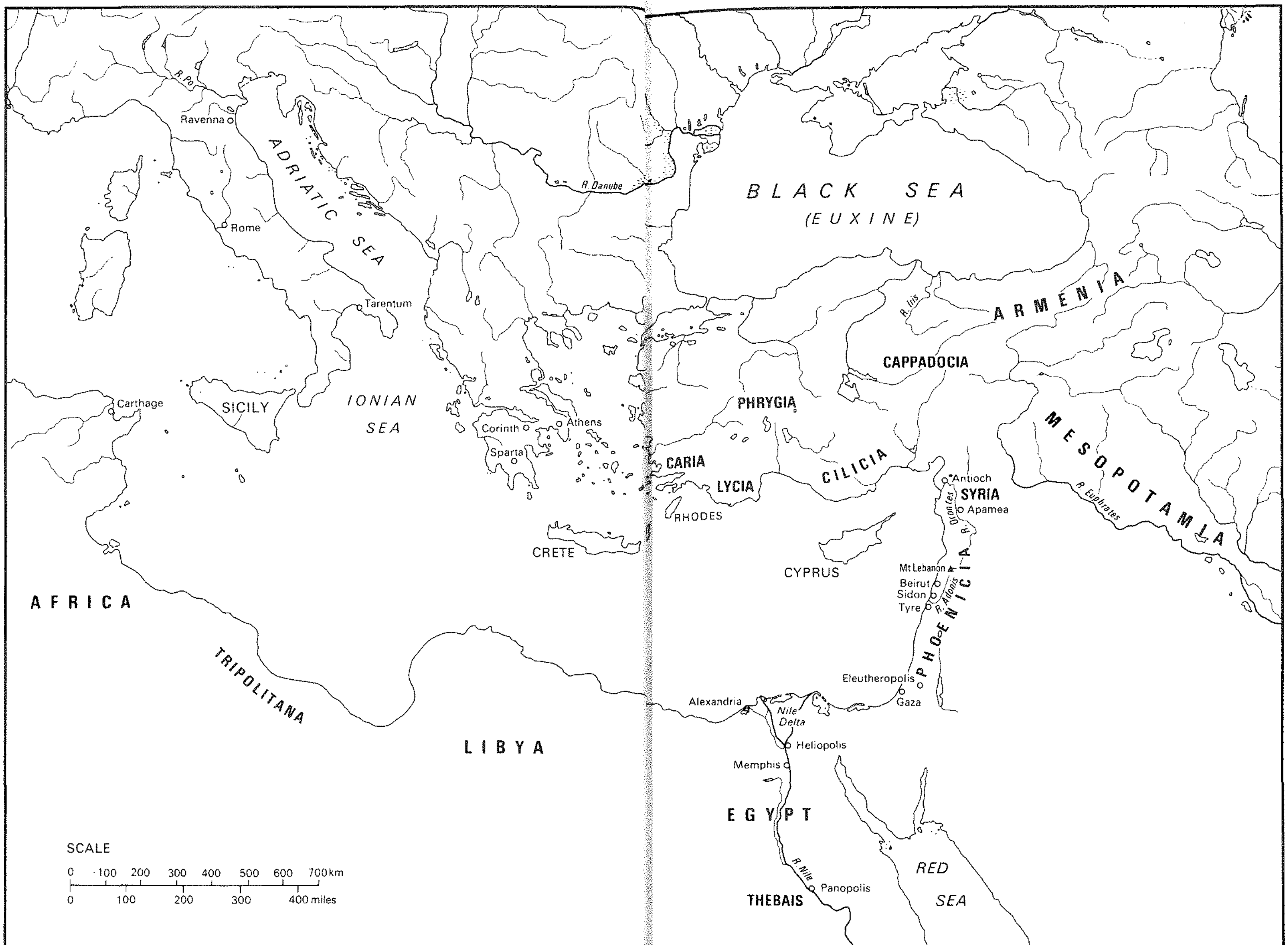
Periodicals are abbreviated as in *L'Année philologique*.

~ = 'corresponding to' or 'contrasting with'.

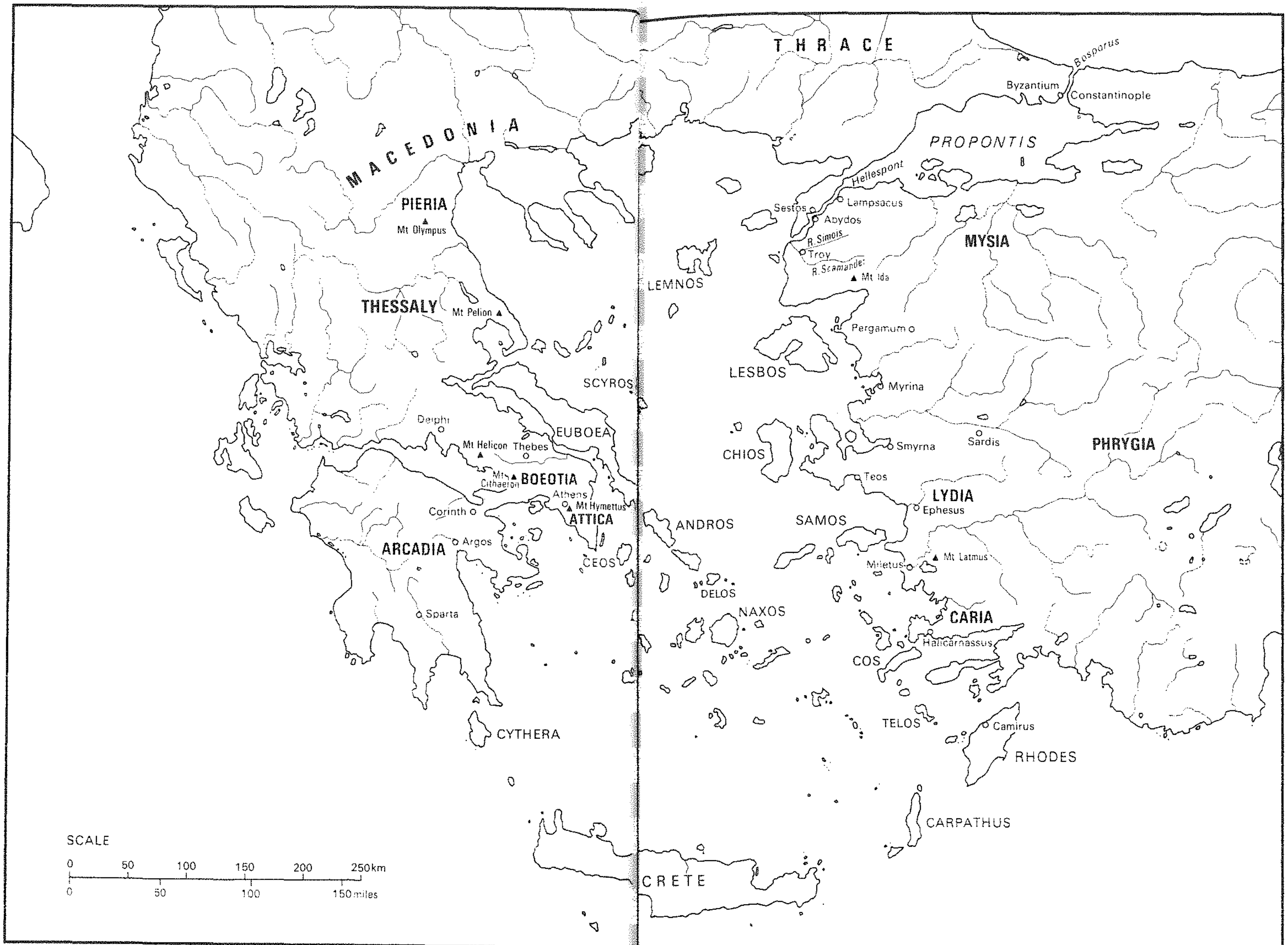
Italic numbers (*1–1537*) refer to the continuous line numeration printed to the right of the text.

Dates are AD unless otherwise indicated.

Final oxytones. At line-end most editors of Greek verse texts print the final syllable of an oxytone word as grave, unless punctuation follows: ... συνθεὶς | ἄλλος ... but ... συνθείς, | ἄλλος ... In this volume, however, an acute will be printed even where there is no sense-break. This editorial practice is becoming gradually more common, and is founded on two main reasons. (i) The fact that in stichic metres vowels and diphthongs may be juxtaposed freely between lines but much less freely within them suggests that a pause of some sort was felt to exist at line-end even if there was no sense-break. (ii) Among the strict metrical and accentual rules observed by Nonnus and his followers (see pp. 123–4) is one which requires that either the final or the penultimate syllable of each line should bear an accent. Since the grave, indicating a falling tone, did not count as an accent for these purposes, lines such as *509* (ending ὠκυπόρωι δέ with no sense-break) would breach this rule if the final syllable had not been perceived as having an acute accent.



Map 1. The Roman empire



Map 2. Greece and Asia Minor

INTRODUCTION

The introduction to an annotated edition such as this is normally expected to deal with the historical, cultural, and literary background of its period. In the present case, however, the poets represented range very widely in date, and it is not feasible in a brief introduction to give a detailed account of events which took place over several centuries in an area as vast as the Roman Empire. It has therefore seemed best to concentrate chiefly on some aspects of the Imperial period which are particularly relevant to the study of later Greek poetry. Such a course may seem more acceptable if one notes that virtually no contemporary references or historical allusions are to be found in the whole selection of texts presented here. It is important to consider why that should be the case.

1. SOME HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS[1]

The first two centuries AD were for the most part a period of stability and consolidation; but already in the third century Italy began to be threatened by incursions from the north. Defence of the frontiers was to be a major concern of all subsequent emperors. In 324 Constantine founded Constantinople on the site of Byzantium as administrative centre for the eastern part of the Empire. After the late third century, though the Roman Empire was still thought of as a unity, East and West were largely independent of each other. Emperors often spent long periods on campaign, accompanied by huge official entourages; in the West, Rome declined in real importance as emperors established themselves elsewhere. In 476 the city was sacked by Theodoric the Goth, and thereafter virtually the whole of the western Empire was under German or Vandal kings. But since barbarians had long served in the army, and from the mid-fourth century had even commanded

[1] Gibbon's *Decline and fall* is best read in the edition of J. B. Bury (7 vols., London, 1900–2). A more modern survey is provided by A. H. M. Jones, *The later Roman Empire 284–602* (3 vols., Oxford, 1964). An excellent brief treatment is P. Brown, *The world of Late Antiquity AD 150–750* (London, 1971), with further bibliography.

legions, their leaders were for the most part keen to be perceived as continuing Roman traditions and administration; there was no abrupt and catastrophic decline, but rather a gradual process of change throughout the fifth and sixth centuries. In the sixth and succeeding centuries Slav, Bulgar, and Persian invaders gradually whittled away the eastern Empire, but Constantinople held firm. In 1204 it was sacked in the Fourth Crusade, and libraries containing rare classical works were destroyed. In 1453 the city finally fell to the Mussulman Turks – but not before the Italian humanists, diplomats, and manuscript collectors of the early fifteenth century had brought back to the West those texts which had survived the Crusaders. The first printed editions of Greek authors were produced in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century.[2]

The Roman civil administration continued with little change throughout the Imperial period. The large provinces of the Republic and early Empire were sub-divided into smaller areas – perhaps originally so that individual military governors would have fewer troops at their disposal, and thus less opportunity to attempt coups. Civil and military administrative jobs were kept distinct. The army was supported by high taxes, rigorously exacted even in times of shortage and famine. Cities were the units of government. Each had a large Council of richer citizens, who elected magistrates, levied state taxes, and saw to the maintenance of public buildings. Higher administrative appointments were usually in the gift of a local élite, and ultimately of the emperors. Brief tenure and poor pay meant that such officials might turn to extortion and peculation. Although slavery persisted particularly in Italy, in the provinces the land was worked chiefly by peasants or by tenants of rich landlords, the Emperor, or the Church. The legal rights of such peasants deteriorated gravely. At times high taxes forced them into tenancy in order to seek the protection of the rich, with consequent loss of revenue to the state. Shortage of manpower and a lack of labour-saving devices, a high death rate, and official corruption are a few of the many alleged causes for the decline and fall of the

[2] A fascinating account of the transmission of classical literature from antiquity to the present day is to be found in L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and scholars* (3rd edn, Oxford, 1991); see in particular 146–9 on the way in which Greek literature reached Italy.

Empire, but none can be proved to have seriously influenced the course of events.

2. EDUCATION AND CULTURE[3]

At its greatest extent the Roman Empire stretched from Spain to Syria, from Scotland to the Egyptian Thebais; yet the most immediately striking feature of the Latin and Greek literature produced throughout the length and breadth of the Empire is the homogeneity of its conception and execution and its conformity to earlier literary tradition. In order to understand how writers in such diverse and widely separated areas could produce works whose style and character give no indication of their place of origin, it is necessary to consider in some detail the educational system and its essential role in providing a common basis for literary culture.

Except for the fact that Latin was spoken and studied in the West and Greek in the East, the educational system was remarkably uniform, and enough school exercises survive on papyri and writing tablets to show that over the centuries very little change took place either in teaching methods or in the syllabus. Up to the age of seven children remained at home; ideally at least, they were taught correct speech and behaviour by their parents, and were entertained with stories and uplifting moral fables. Between the ages of seven and fourteen boys and girls attended an elementary school run by a γραμματιστής or *litterator*. Such schools, funded or endowed by rich local people, existed even in the most remote parts of the Empire, and in theory provided free education for every child – although in practice the rural poor were scarcely ever able to take advantage. Basic literacy and numeracy were taught, in a manner that seems to have been tedious, mechanical, and often brutal. Teaching children to read was made more difficult by the fact that ancient texts had hardly any punctuation or word division; but teachers in elementary schools were a despised and poorly paid profession, viewed as mere artisans who earned wages by exploiting a particular knack or skill. Morality and upright behaviour were valued just as much as literacy and numeracy, but there was no attempt to

[3] The standard work is H. I. Marrou, *A history of education in antiquity* (2nd edn, Eng. trans. by G. Lamb, London/New York, 1956); see also *CHCL* I 22–41.

teach them in schools: they were the responsibility of parents, or, in rich families, of the παιδαγωγός or *custos*, a slave employed to accompany children to school and teach them good manners.

Secondary education was available only to those who could afford to pay fees. Between the ages of 14 and 18 boys attended the school of a γραμματικός or *grammaticus*. Since the fourth century BC the ideal had been an all-round education (ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία) which would produce men of culture and refinement (μουσικοὶ ἄνδρες), and the ideal curriculum included music, dance, and athletics as well as geometry, mathematics, astronomy, art, and literature. But although lyre-playing and gymnastic exercises long continued to form some part of school instruction, literature and composition increasingly took precedence in response to the emphasis on rhetoric in higher education. As the spoken languages continued to change and develop, writers and educators became ever more conscious of correct usage. In the East in the second century arose the so-called Second Sophistic, a movement which opposed the use in prose and in spoken Greek of vocabulary and syntax without precedent in 'good' Attic writers of the fifth and fourth centuries BC; a contemporary but shorter-lived development in Latin was the increased interest in the archaic vocabulary of early Republican writers. Schoolchildren had to learn to write in what was in effect a foreign literary idiom: by the third century grammatical teaching had come to include not only the parts of speech, but also the principal parts of verbs. Texts commonly read in schools came gradually to be limited to the works of only four authors. In Greek these were Homer, Euripides, Menander, and Demosthenes, the latter as a model for prose style; in Latin the favoured writers were Terence, Virgil, Sallust, and Cicero. They were read not primarily for their literary qualities in the modern sense, but for their fine style and their ethical content. Particularly in Homer, scenes of bad behaviour were often interpreted allegorically and made to yield an improbably uplifting moral: thus the adultery of Aphrodite and Ares described in book 8 of the *Odyssey* was claimed to represent the conjunctions of constellations, or the melting of iron when exposed to heat, or the union of body and soul linked together by the filaments of the demiurge Hephaestus, or to demonstrate that even the gods are not immune to natural passions, or that wrongdoing never goes unpunished.[4] In the West in the early

[4] R. Lamberton, *Homer the theologian* (Berkeley, 1986) 227–30.

centuries of the Empire a claim to culture was unthinkable without a knowledge of Greek literature and the ability to speak and write the Greek language. After the third century, however, Greek was less easily available in general education in the West; by the fifth century it was a rare accomplishment. In the East, where the superiority of Greek art and culture was never questioned, Latin was taught in schools only to a basic level, where it was taught at all. In the later Empire it was a useful aid to a career in civil administration, the army, or the law.

For further education after the age of 18 young men paid to attend the lectures of a σοφιστής/*philosophus* or ῥήτωρ/*orator*.[5] Although there were no universities as such, experts tended to come together in particular cities, which came to have the atmosphere of university towns. Throughout the period of the Empire Athens, Alexandria, and Rome remained centres of learning. In the first and second centuries Rhodes, Smyrna, and Ionia in general had many 'schools'; in the later Empire Antioch and Constantinople in the East, and Ravenna and Carthage in the West, rose to eminence. Ionia had medical schools, and Rome, Constantinople, and Beirut had schools of Roman Law. Except for these specialist vocational courses, further education consisted chiefly in the study of philosophy (logic, physics, and ethics) and rhetoric. In the later Empire the products of such schools could hope to become court functionaries: contacts made through public orators were important for recruitment to such positions, for which social rather than specialist qualifications were necessary.[6] Teachers of rhetoric aimed at producing pupils who could compose or extemporise speeches; they read Cicero and Demosthenes as models of style, and through graded series of exercises (προγυμνάσματα) led their students from the telling of simple narratives and fables to full-blown rhetorical compositions. As practice for forensic oratory, pupils were required to write and declaim speeches for the defence and prosecution in preposterously improbable hypothetical cases (a man hires an ass; is he within his rights to sub-let its shadow to a heated traveller, or is the shadow still the property of the owner?). Each type of speech was prescriptively

[5] R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of language: the grammarian and society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1988); G. W. Bowersock, *Greek sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969).

[6] F. S. Pedersen, *Late Roman public professionalism* (Odense, 1976).

divided and subdivided into constituent sections; the result could be a wearying sameness of structure, approach, and execution varied only by verbal skill.[7] The pursuit of sententious wit and verbal point at the expense of other qualities has been blamed by many critics for what they see as the showy but sterile style of writers as distant in time and genre as Seneca and Libanius, Lucan and Nonnus. But it was this system of education which made it possible for literature to come into being at all in most parts of the Empire. Such was its uniformity that it is impossible to tell from the language of an anonymous piece of Greek prose or verse from the Imperial period whether it was composed in the first or fourth century, in Antioch, Alexandria, or Athens.

3. CHRISTIANITY[8]

The rise of Christianity and the nature of its appeal in the ancient world are highly controversial subjects which cannot be discussed here: some scholars have argued for the basic similarity of pagan and Christian aims, ethics, and values while others have emphasised the novelty of the Gospel message. Whatever the reasons for its appeal, it seems that Christianity was at first chiefly an urban phenomenon, and that it spread only slowly to rural areas (hence the term *pagani*). Already in the first century Christians' non-participation in traditional religion had annoyed some civil authorities, and in the third and early fourth centuries more or less organised persecutions took place. Such persecutions were based, ostensibly at least, on the premise that the Empire was under the protection of the traditional gods, and that those who refused to conform to traditional religion were likely to make the gods withdraw their favour. Considerable numbers of Christians preferred – even welcomed – martyrdom rather than make a token gesture of honour to the gods, though many more found it in themselves to compromise.

The oppressed Christian minority suffered an extraordinary reversal of fortune when in 312 Constantine became a convert to the Faith; and Christianity remained the official religion of the Empire except during the brief reign of Julian (361–3). Members of the urban classes rushed to be ordained into the now favoured religion, partly in order to avoid financial responsibility for underwriting taxes. Many of the lower ranks of clergy continued to support themselves by secular work. Especially in Egypt and Asia Minor monks, nuns, and holy men sought to attain to perfection by living apart from society, and earned great authority during their lifetimes; after death their bodies (like those of the Martyrs) were credited with supernatural powers similar to those formerly associated with pagan gods and heroes. Ecclesiastical provinces and bishoprics were established, often overlapping with the areas of civil administration; within each province the Church was maintained by voluntary offerings from the faithful and often by massive endowments from the state, as well as by favourable grants of tax immunity. Rome remained the religious capital of the Empire, though Constantinople was soon three times as large. Persecution of heretics and doctrinal controversies took up much of the energy of the Church, since Christians, like their pagan predecessors, believed that failure to observe the state religion would provoke divine anger.

Paganism persisted longest among rural populations on the one hand and intellectuals on the other. Despite active missionary work, many country people were unwilling to abandon their age-old rituals and religious ceremonies, in honour of local deities who often bore only a superficial resemblance to the Olympian gods. Intellectuals, and especially philosophers, adhered to a Neoplatonic form of traditional religion which saw the various gods as aspects of a single One; they held to the old religion as an aspect of their Classical heritage. In addition, many towns were slow to abandon or destroy the temples which had for so long provided a focus for civic life and pride. The emperors took measures to discourage paganism, and locally at least some bloody persecutions were carried out by Christian zealots. In 382 the office of Vestal Virgin was abolished in Rome; in 391 Theodosius banned all sacrifices; and throughout the fourth century many temples were destroyed. Yet cities such as Gaza, Panopolis, and Heliopolis long continued pagan, and there were still pagan intellectuals in Constantinople in the mid-sixth century. The year 529, in which Justinian attempted to close the Neoplatonist schools in Athens, has often been

[7] D. Russell, *Greek declamation* (Cambridge, 1985) 40–73.

[8] A highly readable introduction to the subject is R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth, 1986); see also A. Momigliano (ed.), *The conflict between paganism and Christianity in the fourth century* (Oxford, 1963), H. Chadwick, *The early Church* (Harmondsworth, 1969).

seen to mark the end of the long tradition of pagan higher education, though in fact the centres of learning continued their teaching into the seventh century and beyond.[9]

The attitude of Christians to pagan Classical literature is another subject which can be treated only briefly here. Some argued that the Bible narratives gave amply sufficient pleasure and instruction and that pagan texts corrupted the mind. In the late fourth century a wave of asceticism, typified by such men as Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, tried to reject the Classical texts and create a new cultural point of reference; Basil of Caesarea pioneered an elementary education based on study of the Bible. But in general Christians did not establish their own schools. They continued to give their children a non-Christian education, while no doubt hoping that undesirable aspects of texts which they studied could be countered by upbringing and family influence. This is one reason why early Christian thought is so profoundly affected by Hellenism. Christians read the pagan Classics for pleasure, as models for good style, and for what moral good they contained, and for the most part were prepared to overlook, ignore, or allegorise away what conflicted with their own beliefs. Christians were even teachers of the Classics in secondary schools.

Given this parity of education, it is not surprising that Christian religious literature and polemic should have been no less influenced than pagan writing by rhetorical precepts. One obstacle to the acceptance of Christianity by intellectuals had been the simple, 'sub-literary' style of the Gospels. Christian apologists quickly realised that the pagans must be beaten at their own game, and that pagan rhetorical training could be used to denounce paganism and heretics, and to convert waverers to the true Faith. In verse, too, Christians adopted Classical forms and metres, composing hymns, metrical lives of the saints, and didactic poems against heresies. When the emperor Julian, as part of his short-lived attempt to reinstate paganism, introduced an edict which in effect forbade Christians to teach pagan literature – a shrewd policy which over a longer period would have seriously damaged Christianity – a father and son, both called Apollinaris, were

[9] General: G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1990). On the events of 529: Alan Cameron, 'The last days of the Academy at Athens', *P.C.P.S.* n.s. 15 (1969) 7–29.

stung to action. The father, a γραμματικός, compiled a grammar using illustrative passages from the Bible, and turned the Book of Moses and the whole of Old Testament history into 24 books of hexameters; on similar themes he wrote tragedies in the style of Euripides, comedies after Menander, and Pindaric lyrics. His son, a ῥήτωρ, turned the Gospels and apostolic teachings into Platonic dialogues.[10] After the death of Julian, Christians were happy to take advantage once again of traditional education, and the works of the ingenious father and son perished in obscurity; but paraphrases of parts of the Bible into Classical metres continued to be produced for both pleasure and instruction.[11] Meanwhile, Christian hymnodists and others had begun to experiment with metres based on the word-accent and stress of the contemporary spoken language rather than on the old syllabic quantities, laying the foundations for a new tradition of poetry in the Middle Ages.

4. PAGAN POETRY IN THE IMPERIAL PERIOD[12]

Not enough evidence exists for us to be able to discern trends or developments in Imperial poetry, or to know about the nature and demands of the reading public and private patrons. The introduction to each author included in this Anthology will mention briefly the history of the various genres in so far as they can be known. Here it is enough to present a few facts which have a more general bearing on poetry and on the circumstances of its composition.

In the case of Imperial poetry, even to distinguish epochs in literary

[10] Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 3.16, Migne LXVII 417–20; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 5.18, Migne LXVII 1269–72.

[11] See p. 121 on the *Paraphrasis* of Nonnus.

[12] General surveys: C. A. Trypanis, *Greek poetry from Homer to Seferis* (London/Boston, 1981) 363–424, A. Lesky, *A history of Greek literature* (2nd edn, trans. J. Willis and C. de Heer, London, 1966) 807–19. A more detailed survey of a shorter historical period is E. L. Bowie, 'Greek poetry in the Antonine age', in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine literature* (Oxford, 1990) 53–90. Some fragmentary and papyrus texts are printed in D. L. Page (ed.), *Select papyri* III (Loeb, London/Cambridge, Mass., 1941) and in E. Heitsch (ed.), *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* (vol. I, 2nd edn, Göttingen, 1963; vol. II, 1964).

history is hardly possible. From the works that survive it seems that under Nero and the Flavians Latin poetry flourished more than Greek, but that the philhellenism of Hadrian and the Antonines aided – or reflected – a gradual shift to the eastern Empire as the focus of culture and, to a large extent, of poetic production: Oppian and the author of the *Cynegetica*, from Cilicia and Syrian Apamea, can be seen as representative of this growth of the cities of Asia Minor as cultural centres.[13] From the later third century, a period of turmoil, little poetry survives; but in the fourth and fifth centuries Quintus of Smyrna continues the epic traditions of Asia Minor, and Egypt produces Palladas of Alexandria, Nonnus of Panopolis, and a host of less well known poets. It is a feature of the later period that both pagan and Christian literary figures, many of them teachers of grammar and rhetoric, emerge from quite remote eastern areas. There and elsewhere in the Empire a numerous sub-class of peripatetic poets made a living from commissioned encomia and epithalamia, and from poems written for civic occasions.[14] Such performances, together with public recitations, verse competitions, and the ubiquitous epitaphs and dedications set up in public places, bear witness to the fact that poetry was still an important part of general culture.

The extraordinary continuity of the educational system, which emphasised study of and composition in the style of Classical models, was matched by a continuity in the forms of poetry produced under the Empire. Except for tragedy and comedy, which seem seldom to have been written after the time of Hadrian, most of the Classical genres were continued, and may be found represented in the present volume: epigrams, lyric, the fable, the hymn, didactic poetry, and especially epic continued to be written; and although novelty particularly of content is to be found in many types of poetry, pagan poets never ceased to use – with more or less accuracy – a fossilised version of the literary language appropriate to their chosen genres. Indeed, until the fall of Constantinople Greeks continued to write in the Attic and Homeric dialects, and to imitate Classical forms of literature.

[13] See pp. 185–6, 197–8.

[14] Alan Cameron, 'Wandering poets: a literary movement in Byzantine Egypt', *Historia* 14 (1965) 470–509, repr. in id., *Literature and society in the ancient world* (London, 1985); id., *Claudian: poetry and propaganda at the court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970).

A NOTE ON THE APPARATUS CRITICUS

In an anthology of this type it is not feasible to deal separately with the manuscript tradition of each author. It has therefore seemed best to present the most important variants using the following abbreviations:

M = reading of the whole MS tradition.
m = reading of part of the MS tradition.
par. = reading of an ancient paraphrase with independent MS authority.

Manuscripts of ancient authors invariably contain errors, which have arisen in the process of copying and recopying over many generations. Since the Renaissance, textual critics have worked to restore original readings by conjectural emendation. Except for the most elementary corrections, all such emendations adopted into the present text are attributed to the scholars who made them, and the corrupt MSS readings are given directly afterwards (e.g. 'γε Ludwich: τε m: δέ m' means that the MSS have either τε or δέ, but Ludwich restored the true reading, γε). Where the choice is between readings given by various MSS, unadopted readings are mentioned in the apparatus criticus only if they might possibly be right. By the same token, a few modern conjectures are mentioned which, though very attractive, do not seem certain enough to be adopted into the text.

THE ANTHOLOGY

I

ANACREONTEA

1

Ἀνακρέων ἰδών με
ὁ Τήϊος μελωιδός
(ὄναρ λέγω) προσεῖπεν·
κἀγὼ δραμὼν πρὸς αὐτόν
περιπλάκην φιλήσας.
γέρων μὲν ἦν, καλὸς δέ,
καλὸς δὲ καὶ φίλευνος·
τὸ χεῖλος ὦζεν οἴνου·
τρέμοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἤδη
Ἔρως ἐχειραγώγει.
ὁ δ' ἐξελὼν καρήνου
ἐμοὶ στέφος δίδωσι·
τὸ δ' ὦζ' Ἀνακρέοντος.
ἐγὼ δ' ὁ μωρὸς ἄρας
ἐδησάμην μετώπωι·
καὶ δῆθεν ἄχρι καὶ νῦν
ἔρωτος οὐ πέπαυμαι.

2

Μεσονυκτίοις ποθ' ὥραις,
στρέφετ' ἦμος Ἄρκτος ἤδη
κατὰ χεῖρα τὴν Βοώτου,
μερόπων δὲ φῦλα πάντα
κέαται κόπωι δαμέντα,

I **1** =1 West 3 λέγω Baxter: λέγων M προσεῖπεν Stephanus: προεῖπ͂εν M
2 =33 West 2 στρέφετ' ἦμος Rose, cl. Theoc. 24.11: στρεφέτην ὅτ' M

τότ' Ἔρως ἐπισταθείς μευ
θυρέων ἔκοπτ' ὀχῆας.
"τίς" ἔφην "θύρας ἀράσσει,
κατά μευ σχίσας ὀνείρους;"
ὁ δ' Ἔρως "ἄνοιγε," φησίν,
"βρέφος εἰμί, μὴ φόβησαι·
βρέχομαι δὲ κἀσέληνον
κατὰ νύκτα πεπλάνημαι."
ἐλέησα ταῦτ' ἀκούσας,
ἀνὰ δ' εὐθὺ λύχνον ἅψας
ἀνέωιξα, καὶ βρέφος μέν
ἐσορῶ φέροντα τόξον
πτέρυγάς τε καὶ φαρέτρην·
παρὰ δ' ἱστίην καθίξας
παλάμαισι χεῖρας αὐτοῦ
ἀνέθαλπον, ἐκ δὲ χαίτης
ἀπέθλιβον ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ.
ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κρύος μεθῆκε
"φέρε" φησὶ "πειράσωμεν
τόδε τόξον, εἴ τί μοι νῦν
βλάβεται βραχεῖσα νευρή."
τανύει δέ, καί με τύπτει
μέσον ἧπαρ ὥσπερ οἶστρος·
ἀνὰ δ' ἅλλεται καχάζων
"ξένε" δ' εἶπε "συγχάρηθι·
κέρας ἀβλαβὲς μένει μοι
σὺ δὲ καρδίην πονήσεις."

3

Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει,
πίνει δὲ δένδρε' αὖ γῆν·

9 σχίσας Stephanus: σχίζεις M 19 καθίσας (ξ supra σ) M: καθίσσας Barnes 20 παλάμαισι Stephanus: παλάμας (τε supra) καὶ M: παλάμαις τε Boissonade 25 εἴ τι Stephanus: ἔστι M 31 μένει μοι Michelangeli: μὲν ἐμοὶ M
3 =21 West 1 'fort. εἰ γῆ' West, cl. *Anth. Pal.* 9.363.19–23 2 δὲ δένδρε' Stephanus: δένδρεα δ' M αὖ γῆν Bergk: αὐτήν M

πίνει θάλασσ' ἀναύρους,
ὁ δ' ἥλιος θάλασσαν,
τὸν δ' ἥλιον σελήνη·
τί μοι μάχεσθ', ἑταῖροι,
καὐτῶι θέλοντι πίνειν;

4

Οὔ μοι μέλει τὰ Γύγεω
τοῦ Σαρδίων ἄνακτος,
οὐδ' εἷλέ πώ με ζῆλος,
οὐδὲ φθονῶ τυράννοις.
ἐμοὶ μέλει μύροισιν
καταβρέχειν ὑπήνην,
ἐμοὶ μέλει ῥόδοισιν
καταστέφειν κάρηνα·
τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι,
τὸ δ' αὔριον τίς οἶδεν;
ὡς οὖν ἔτ' εὔδι' ἔστιν,
καὶ πῖνε καὶ κύβευε
καὶ σπένδε τῶι Λυαίωι,
μὴ νοῦσος ἤν τις ἔλθηι
λέγηι σε μηδὲ πίνειν.

5

Μακαρίζομέν σε, τέττιξ,
ὅτε δενδρέων ἐπ' ἄκρων
ὀλίγην δρόσον πεπωκὼς
βασιλεὺς ὅπως ἀείδεις.
σὰ γάρ ἐστι κεῖνα πάντα,

3 θάλασσ' ἀναύρους Heskin: θάλασσα δ' αὔρας M
4 =8 West 11 εὔδι' Barnes: εὐδί M: εὐδία 'στιν Bergk 12 παῖζε Peerlkamp 15 μηδὲ Stephanus: μὴ δεῖ M
5 =34 West 2 ὅτι Stephanus 5 κεῖνα Stephanus: καινὰ M

ὁπόσα βλέπεις ἐν ἀγροῖς
χὠπόσα φέρουσιν ὗλαι.
σὺ γὰρ εἶ φίλος γεωργοῖς,
ἀπὸ μηδενός τι βλάπτων·
σὺ δὲ τίμιος βροτοῖσιν,
θέρεος γλυκὺς προφήτης.
φιλέουσι μέν σε Μοῦσαι,
φιλέει δὲ Φοῖβος αὐτός,
λιγυρὴν δ' ἔδωκεν οἴμην·
τὸ δὲ γῆρας οὔ σε τείρει.
σοφέ, γηγενής, φίλυμνε,
ἀπαθής, ἀναιμόσαρκε·
σχεδὸν εἶ θεοῖς ὅμοιος.

6

Σὺ μέν, φίλη χελιδόν,
ἐτησίη μολοῦσα
θέρει πλέκεις καλιήν,
χειμῶνι δ' εἷς ἄφαντος
ἢ Νεῖλον ἢ 'πὶ Μέμφιν·
Ἔρως δ' ἀεὶ πλέκει μευ
ἐν καρδίηι καλιήν.
Πόθος δ' ὁ μὲν πτεροῦται,
ὁ δ' ὠιόν ἐστιν ἀκμήν,
ὁ δ' ἡμίλεπτος ἤδη·
βοὴ δὲ γίνετ' ἀεί
κεχηνότων νεοττῶν·

7 χὠπόσα Barnes (χῳ-): κοπόσα M: ὁπόσ' αὖ Rose: ὁπόσα τρέφουσιν Bergk: ὁπόσ' ἂν φέρωσιν Michelangeli 8 σὺ γὰρ εἶ φίλος γεωργοῖς Barnes: σὺ φιλία γεωργῶν M: σὺ δὲ φείδεαι γεωργῶν West, cl. 4 16 γηγενής, φίλυμνε Stephanus: γηγενῆ φίλυπνε M 17 ἀπαθὴς Stephanus: -ὲς M ἄναιμ', ἄσαρκε Scaliger
6 =25 West 7 καρδίηι Stephanus: κρα- M 10 ἡμίλεπτος Stephanus: ἡμίνληπτὸς M

Ἐρωτιδεῖς δὲ μικρούς
οἱ μείζονες τρέφουσιν·
οἱ δὲ τραφέντες εὐθύς
πάλιν κύουσιν ἄλλους.
τί μῆχος οὖν γένηται;
οὐ γὰρ σθένω τοσούτους
Ἔρωτας ἐκσοβῆσαι.

II

MESOMEDES

THE SPONGE

Ἄνθος τόδε σοι βυθίων πετρῶν
πολύτρητον ἁλὸς παλάμαις φέρω
σμήνεσσι πανείκελον, Ἀτθίδων
ἅτε κηρὸν Ὑμήττιον ἐκ πετρῶν,
ὧι Γλαῦκος ἐν ὕδασι τέρπεται.
Τρίτωνος ὅδ' ἐστὶ χαμεύνα·
τούτωι παρὰ κύμασι παρθένοι
παίζουσιν, ἀγάλματα Νηρέως·
πώλων ὅδ' ἀφρώδεα θυάδων
Ἐνοσίχθονος ἄσθματα λούει.
τοῦτον τάμε νηχόμενος δύτας
ἁλὸς ὕδασιν ἄτρομος ἐργάτας,
ἵνα σου κατὰ χιονέων μελῶν
λύσηι μετὰ νύκτα, γύναι καλά,
κάματον τὸν ἐρωτικὸν †ὀμμάτων†.

19 ἐκσοβῆσαι Pauw: ἐκβοῆσαι M

II =9 Heitsch 3 Ἀτθίδων Wilamowitz: ἀ δων M 9 ὅδ' Maas: ὃς M: ὅτ' Wilamowitz ἀφρώδεα θυάδων Wilamowitz: ἀφρώδε' ἀθύμων M 15 τὸν ἐρωτικὸν Wilamowitz: τῶν -ῶν M ἀμμάτων Wilamowitz: τὸν ἐρωτοπαλαισμάτων Russell

III

EPIGRAMS

Paulus Silentiarius 1

Εἶδον ἐγὼ ποθέοντας· ὑπ᾽ ἀτλήτοιο δὲ λύσσης
δηρὸν ἐν ἀλλήλοις χείλεα πηξάμενοι,
οὐ κόρον εἶχον ἔρωτος ἀφειδέος· ἱέμενοι δέ,
εἰ θέμις, ἀλλήλων δύμεναι ἐς κραδίην,
ἀμφασίης ὅσον ὅσσον ὑπεπρήυνον ἀνάγκην
ἀλλήλων μαλακοῖς φάρεσιν ἑσσάμενοι.
καί ῥ᾽ ὁ μὲν ἦν Ἀχιλῆι πανείκελος, οἷος ἐκεῖνος
τῶν Λυκομηδείων ἔνδον ἔην θαλάμων·
κούρη δ᾽ ἀργυφέης ἐπιγουνίδος ἄχρι χιτῶνα
ζωσαμένη Φοίβης εἶδος ἀπεπλάσατο.
καὶ πάλιν ἠρήρειστο τὰ χείλεα· γυιοβόρον γάρ
εἶχον ἀλωφήτου λιμὸν ἐρωμανίης.
ῥεῖά τις ἡμερίδος στελέχη δύο σύμπλοκα λύσει,
στρεπτά, πολυχρονίωι πλέγματι συμφυέα,
ἢ κείνους φιλέοντας ὑπ᾽ ἀντιπόροισί τ᾽ ἀγοστοῖς
ὑγρὰ περιπλέγδην ἅψεα δησαμένους.
τρὶς μάκαρ, ὃς τοίοισι, φίλη, δεσμοῖσιν ἑλίχθη,
τρὶς μάκαρ· ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς ἄνδιχα καιόμεθα.

Agathias 2

Ἡ γραῦς ἡ φθονερὴ παρεκέκλιτο γείτονι κούρηι,
δόχμιον ἐν λέκτρωι νῶτον ἐρεισαμένη
προβλὴς ὥς τις ἔπαλξις ἀνέμβατος· οἷα δὲ πύργος
ἔσκεπε τὴν κούρην ἁπλοῒς ἐκταδίη.
καὶ σοβαρὴ θεράπαινα πύλας σφίγξασα μελάθρου
κεῖτο χαλικρήτωι νάματι βριθομένη.
ἔμπης οὔ μ᾽ ἐφόβησαν· ἐπεὶ στρεπτῆρα θυρέτρου
χερσὶν ἀδουπήτοις βαιὸν ἀειράμενος
φρυκτοὺς αἰθαλόεντας ἐμῆς ῥιπίσμασι λώπης
ἔσβεσα, καὶ διαδὺς λέχριος ἐν θαλάμωι
τὴν φύλακα κνώσσουσαν ὑπέκφυγον· ἧκα δὲ λέκτρου
νέρθεν ὑπὸ σχοίνοις γαστέρι συρόμενος,
ὠρθούμην κατὰ βαιόν, ὅπηι βατὸν ἔπλετο τεῖχος·
ἄγχι δὲ τῆς κούρης στέρνον ἐρεισάμενος
μαζοὺς μὲν κρατέεσκον, ὑπεθρύφθην δὲ προσώπωι
μάστακα πιαίνων χείλεος εὐαφίηι.
ἦν δ᾽ ἄρα μοι τὰ λάφυρα καλὸν στόμα, καὶ τὸ φίλημα
σύμβολον ἐννυχίης εἶχον ἀεθλοσύνης.
οὔπω δ᾽ ἐξαλάπαξα φίλης πύργωμα κορείης,
ἀλλ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἀδηρίτωι σφίγγεται ἀμβολίηι.
ἔμπης ἢν ἑτέροιο μόθου στήσωμεν ἀγῶνα,
ναὶ τάχα πορθήσω τείχεα παρθενίης,
οὐδ᾽ ἔτι με σχήσουσιν ἐπάλξιες· ἢν δὲ τυχήσω,
στέμματα σοὶ πλέξω, Κύπρι τροπαιοφόρε.

Macedonius 3

Ἕλκος ἔχω τὸν ἔρωτα· ῥέει δέ μοι ἕλκεος ἰχώρ
δάκρυον, ὠτειλῆς οὔποτε τερσομένης.
εἰμὶ καὶ ἐκ κακότητος ἀμήχανος, οὐδὲ Μαχάων
ἤπιά μοι πάσσει φάρμακα δευομένωι.
Τήλεφός εἰμι, κόρη, σὺ δὲ γίνεο πιστὸς Ἀχιλλεύς·
κάλλεϊ σῶι παῦσον τὸν πόθον, ὡς ἔβαλες.

Palladas 4

Τὴν Κίρκην οὔ φημι, καθὼς εἴρηκεν Ὅμηρος,
ἀντ᾽ ἀνδρῶν ποιεῖν ἢ σύας ἠὲ λύκους
τοὺς αὐτῆι προσιόντας· ἑταίρα δ᾽ οὖσα πανοῦργος
τοὺς δελεασθέντας πτωχοτάτους ἐποίει·

III **1** *AP* 5.255 11 γυιοβόρον Gruter: -ων M
2 *AP* 5.294 8 ἀδουπήτοις Salmasius: -τους m: -ποίτοις m

23 οὐδ᾽ ἔτι Bouhier: οὐδέ τι M
3 *AP* 5.225 6 ὡς] ὧι μ᾽ Alan Cameron
4 *AP* 10.50

τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπείων ἀποσυλήσασα λογισμῶν,
εἶτ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων μηδὲν ἔχοντας ἔτι
ἔτρεφεν ἔνδον ἔχουσα δίκην ζώιων ἀλογίστων.
ἔμφρων δ' ὢν Ὀδυσεὺς τὴν νεότητα φυγών,
οὐχ Ἑρμοῦ, φύσεως δ' ἰδίας ἐμφύντα λογισμόν
εἶχε γοητείας φάρμακον ἀντίπαλον.

Marcus Argentarius 5

Μήνη χρυσόκερως, δέρκηι τάδε, καὶ πυριλαμπεῖς
ἀστέρες, οὓς κόλποις Ὠκεανὸς δέχεται,
ὥς με μόνον προλιποῦσα μυρόπνοος ὤιχετ' Ἀρίστη;
ἑκταίην δ' εὑρεῖν τὴν μάγον οὐ δύναμαι.
ἀλλ' ἔμπης αὐτὴν ζητήσομεν· ἦ ῥ' ἐπιπέμψω
Κύπριδος ἰχνευτὰς ἀργυρέους σκύλακας.

Strato 6

Πρωκτὸς καὶ χρυσὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ψῆφον ἔχουσιν·
ψηφίζων δ' ἀφελῶς τοῦτό ποθ' εὗρον ἐγώ.

Lucillius 7

Τὴν κεφαλὴν βάπτεις, τὸ δὲ γῆρας οὔποτε βάψεις,
οὐδὲ παρειάων ἐκτανύσεις ῥυτίδας.
μὴ τοίνυν τὸ πρόσωπον ἅπαν ψιμύθωι κατάπλαττε,
ὥστε προσωπεῖον κοὐχὶ πρόσωπον ἔχειν.
οὐδὲν γὰρ πλέον ἐστί. τί μαίνεαι; οὔποτε φῦκος
καὶ ψίμυθος τεύξει τὴν Ἑκάβην Ἑλένην.

9 ἐμφύντα Boissonade: ἔμφρονα M
5 *AP* 5.16; *GP* 1301–6 (Argent. 1) 5 ἦ ῥ' Jacobs: ἦν M: ἦν· Gow/Page
6 *AP* 12.6
7 *AP* 11.408 1 γῆρας δὲ σὸν Jacobs 2 ἐκτανύσεις ῥυτίδας anon.: ῥ. ἐ. M

Strato 8

Ἀκμῆι δωδεκέτους ἐπιτέρπομαι· ἔστι δὲ τούτου
χὠ τρισκαιδεκέτης πουλὺ ποθεινότερος·
χὠ τὰ δὶς ἑπτὰ νέμων γλυκερώτερον ἄνθος Ἐρώτων,
τερπνότερος δ' ὁ τρίτης πεντάδος ἀρχόμενος·
ἑξεπικαιδέκατον δὲ θεῶν ἔτος· ἑβδόματον δέ
καὶ δέκατον ζητεῖν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός.
εἰ δ' ἔτι πρεσβυτέρου τις ἔχει πόθον, οὐκέτι παίζει,
ἀλλ' ἤδη ζητεῖ "τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος".

Agathias 9

Τὸν σοβαρὸν Πολέμωνα, τὸν ἐν θυμέληισι Μενάνδρου
κείραντα Γλυκέρας τῆς ἀλόχου πλοκάμους,
ὁπλότερος Πολέμων μιμήσατο, καὶ τὰ Ῥοδάνθης
βόστρυχα παντόλμοις χερσὶν ἐληίσατο,
καὶ τραγικοῖς ἀχέεσσι τὸ κωμικὸν ἔργον ἀμείψας,
μάστιξεν ῥαδινῆς ἅψεα θηλυτέρης.
ζηλομανὲς τὸ κόλασμα. τί γὰρ τόσον ἤλιτε κούρη,
εἴ με κατοικτείρειν ἤθελε τειρόμενον;
σχέτλιος· ἀμφοτέρους δὲ διέτμαγε, μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ
βλέμματος ἐνστήσας αἴθοπα βασκανίην.
ἀλλ' ἔμπης τελέθει "Μισούμενος"· αὐτὰρ ἔγωγε
"Δύσκολος", οὐχ ὁρόων τὴν "Περικειρομένην".

Lucillius 10

Τούτοις τοῖς παρὰ δεῖπνον ἀοιδομάχοις λογολέσχαις,
τοῖς ἀπ' Ἀριστάρχου γραμματολικριφίσιν,
οἷς οὐ σκῶμμα λέγειν, οὐ πεῖν φίλον, ἀλλ' ἀνάκεινται
νηπυτιευόμενοι Νέστορι καὶ Πριάμωι,

8 *AP* 12.4 7 ἐπὶ m πρεσβυτέρου Schwenck: -ρους M
9 *AP* 5.218 2 Γλυκέρας Scaliger: γλυκερὰς m: -ροὺς m
10 *AP* 11.140

μή με βάλῃς κατὰ λέξιν "ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι"·
  σήμερον οὐ δειπνῶ "μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά."

Lucillius 11

"Πολλοῦ δεῖ" καὶ "σφίν" καὶ τρὶς παρ' ἕκαστα "δικασταί
  ἄνδρες" καὶ "λέγε δὴ τὸν νόμον ἐνθάδε μοι"
καὶ "ταυτί" καὶ "μῶν" καὶ "τετταράκοντα" καὶ "ἅττα"
  σκεψάμενος καί τοι "νὴ Δία" καὶ "μὰ Δία"
ῥήτωρ ἐστὶ Κρίτων καὶ παιδία πολλὰ διδάσκει·
  προσθήσει δ' αὐτοῖς "γρῦ", "φαθί", καὶ "μίν" ἔτι.

Palladas 12

Γραμματικοῦ θυγάτηρ ἔτεκεν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα
  παιδίον ἀρσενικόν, θηλυκόν, οὐδέτερον.

Cillacter or Nicarchus 13

Ὀρθῶσαι τὸν κυρτὸν ὑποσχόμενος Διόδωρον
  Σωκλῆς τετραπέδους τρεῖς ἐπέθηκε λίθους
τοῦ κυρτοῦ στιβαροὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ῥάχιν· ἀλλὰ πιεσθείς
  τέθνηκεν, γέγονεν δ' ὀρθότερος κανόνος.

Agathias 14

Κεῖτο μὲν Ἀλκιμένης κεκακωμένος ἐκ πυρετοῖο
  καὶ περὶ λαυκανίην βραγχὰ λαρυγγιόων
νυσσόμενός τε τὸ πλευρὸν ἅτε ξιφέεσσιν ἀμυχθέν
  καὶ θαμὰ δυσκελάδοις ἄσθμασι πνευστιόων·

11 *AP* 11.142
12 *AP* 9.489
13 *AP* 11.120
14 *AP* 11.382

ἦλθε δὲ Καλλίγνωτος ὁ Κῷος, ὁ πλατυλέσχης,
  τῆς παιωνιάδος πληθόμενος σοφίης,
πᾶσαν ἔχων πρόγνωσιν ἐν ἄλγεσιν, οὔ τι περιττόν
  ἄλλο προαγγέλλων ἢ τὸ γενησόμενον.
Ἀλκιμένους δ' ἐδόκευεν ἀνάκλισιν ἔκ τε προσώπου
  φράζετο καὶ παλάμης ψαῦεν ἐπισταμένως
καὶ τὸ περὶ κρισίμων φαέων ἐλογίζετο γράμμα
  πάντ' ἀναπεμπάζων οὐχ ἑκὰς Ἱπποκράτους.
καὶ τότε τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἐς Ἀλκιμένην ἀνεφώνει
  σεμνοπροσωπήσας καὶ σοβαρευόμενος·
"εἴ γε φάρυγξ βομβεῦσα καὶ ἄγρια τύμματα πλευροῦ
  καὶ πυρετῶι λήξηι πνεῦμα δασυνόμενον,
οὐκέτι τεθνήξει πλευρίτιδι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν
  σύμβολον ἐσσομένης ἐστὶν ἀπημοσύνης.
θάρσει· τὸν νομικὸν δὲ κάλει καὶ χρήματα σαυτοῦ
  εὖ διαθεὶς βιότου λῆγε μεριμνοτόκου,
καί με τὸν ἰητρὸν προρρήσιος εἵνεκεν ἐσθλῆς
  ἐν τριτάτηι μοίρηι κάλλιπε κληρονόμον."

anon. 15

Οὐ δύναται τῆι χειρὶ Πρόκλος τὴν ῥῖν' ἀπομύσσειν,
  τῆς ῥινὸς γὰρ ἔχει τὴν χέρα μικροτέρην·
οὐδὲ λέγει "Ζεῦ, σῶσον", ἐὰν πταρῆι· οὐ γὰρ ἀκούει
  τῆς ῥινός, πολὺ γὰρ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει.

Leonides of Alexandria 16

Γρῆυν ἔγημε Φιλῖνος ὅτ' ἦν νέος· ἡνίκα πρέσβυς,
  δωδεκέτιν· Παφίηι δ' ὥριος οὐδέποτε.
τοιγὰρ ἄπαις διέμεινέ ποτε σπείρων ἐς ἄκαρπα·
  νῦν ἑτέροις γήμας ἀμφοτέρων στέρεται.

15 *AP* 11.268 2 fort. μακροτέρην
16 *AP* 11.70; *FGE* 1994–7 (Leonides 35) 2 Παφίηι Boissonade: -ίη M
3 τοιγὰρ Jacobs: τὸν γὰρ m: καὶ γὰρ m

Antiphilus 17

Αἰγιαλοῦ τενάγεσσιν ὑποπλώοντα λαθραίηι
  εἰρεσίηι Φαίδων εἴσιδε πουλυπόδην·
μάρψας δ' ὠκὺς ἔριψεν ἐπὶ χθόνα, πρὶν περὶ χεῖρας
  πλέξασθαι βρύγδην ὀκτατόνους ἕλικας·
δισκευθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ θάμνον ἐς οἰκία δειλὰ λαγωοῦ
  εἰληδὸν ταχινοῦ πτωκὸς ἔδησε πόδας·
εἷλε δ' ἁλούς· σὺ δ' ἄελπτον ἔχεις γέρας ἀμφοτέρωθεν
  ἄγρης χερσαίης, πρέσβυ, καὶ εἰναλίης.

Statyllius Flaccus 18

Χρυσὸν ἀνὴρ εὑρὼν ἔλιπε βρόχον· αὐτὰρ ὁ χρυσόν
  ὃν λίπεν οὐχ εὑρὼν ἧψεν ὃν εὗρε βρόχον.

Marcus Argentarius 19

Ἀρχαίη σύνδειπνε, καπηλικὰ μέτρα φιλεῦσα,
  εὔλαλε, πρηΰγελως, εὔστομε, μακροφάρυξ,
αἰὲν ἐμῆς πενίης βραχυσύμβολε μύστι, λάγυνε,
  ἦλθες ὅμως ὑπ' ἐμὴν χεῖρά ποτε χρόνιος.
αἴθ' ὄφελες καὶ ἄμικτος ἀνύμφευτός τε παρείης,
  ἄφθορος ὡς κούρη πρὸς πόσιν ἐρχομένη.

Palladas 20

Δακρυχέων γενόμην καὶ δακρύσας ἀποθνήισκω·
  δάκρυσι δ' ἐν πολλοῖς τὸν βίον εὗρον ὅλον.
ὦ γένος ἀνθρώπων πολυδάκρυτον, ἀσθενές, οἰκτρόν,
  συρόμενον κατὰ γῆς καὶ διαλυόμενον.

17 *AP* 9.14; *GP* 965–72 (=Antiph. 30)   3 ὀξὺς m
18 *AP* 9.44; *GP* 3839–40 (=Flaccus 8)
19 *AP* 9.229; *GP* 1427–32 (Argent. 24)   5 ἀφελὴς Jacobs   παρεῖναι m
20 *AP* 10.84   4 συρόμενον m: φερό- m: φυό- Lumb: φαινό- Boissonade: φυρό- Salmasius

Marianus 21

Δεῦρ' ἴθι βαιόν, ὁδῖτα, πεσὼν ὑπὸ δάσκιον ἄλσος,
  ἄμπαυσον καμάτου γυῖα πολυπλανέος,
χλωρὸν ὅπου πλατάνων αὐτόρρυτον ἐς μέσον ὕδωρ
  καλὰ πολυκρούνων ἐκπροέει στομάτων·
ὀππόθι πορφυρέης ὑπὲρ αὔλακος εἴαρι θάλλει
  ὑγρὸν ἴον ῥοδέηι κιρνάμενον κάλυκι.
ἠνίδε πῶς δροσεροῖο πέδον λειμῶνος ἐρέψας
  ἔκχυτον εὐχαίτης κισσὸς ἔπλεξε κόμην.
ἐνθάδε καὶ ποταμὸς λασίην παραμείβεται ὄχθην
  πέζαν ὑποξύων αὐτοφύτοιο νάπης.
οὗτος "Ἔρως". τί γὰρ ἄλλο καὶ ἔπρεπεν οὔνομα χώρωι
  πάντοθεν ἱμερτῶν πληθομένωι Χαρίτων;

Theaetetus 22

Ἤδη καλλιπέτηλον ἐπ' εὐκάρποισι λοχείαις
  λήιον ἐκ ῥοδέων ἀνθοφορεῖ καλύκων·
ἤδη ἐπ' ἀκρεμόνεσσιν ἰσοζυγέων κυπαρίσσων
  μουσομανὴς τέττιξ θέλγει ἀμαλλοδέτην·
καὶ φιλόπαις ὑπὸ γεῖσα δόμους τεύξασα χελιδών
  ἔκγονα πηλοχύτοις ξεινοδοκεῖ θαλάμοις.
ὑπνώει δὲ θάλασσα, φιλοζεφύροιο γαλήνης
  νηοφόροις νώτοις εὔδια πεπταμένης,
οὐκ ἐπὶ πρυμναίοισι καταιγίζουσα κορύμβοις,
  οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥηγμίνων ἀφρὸν ἐρευγομένη.
ναυτίλε, ποντομέδοντι καὶ ὁρμοδοτῆρι Πριήπωι
  τευθίδος ἢ τρίγλης ἀνθεμόεσσαν ἴτυν,
ἢ σκάρον αὐδήεντα παραὶ βωμοῖσι πυρώσας
  ἄτρομος Ἰονίου τέρμα θαλασσοπόρει.

21 *AP* 9.669   5 ὀργάδος Hecker   7 ἐρέψας Huet: -ψεν M
22 *AP* 10.16

anon. 23

Εἰμὶ χαμαίζηλον ζώιων μέλος· ἢν δ' ἀφέληις μου
 γράμμα μόνον, κεφαλῆς γίνομαι ἄλλο μέρος·
ἢν δ' ἕτερον, ζῶιον πάλιν ἔσσομαι· ἢν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο,
 οὐ μόνον εὑρήσεις, ἀλλὰ διηκόσια.

IV

QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS

OENONE AND PARIS (*Posthomerica* 10.259–331, 362–8, 411–89)

Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε θοὸν Πάριν ἄχρις ἐς ἠῶ·
οὐ γάρ οἵ τις ἄλαλκε λιλαιομένων περ ἀμύνειν
παντοίοις ἀκέεσσιν, ἐπεί ῥά οἱ αἴσιμον ἦεν
Οἰνώνης ὑπὸ χερσὶ μόρον καὶ Κῆρας ἀλύξαι,
ἢν ἐθέληι. ὁ δ' ἄρ' αἶψα θεοπροπίηισι πιθήσας
ἤιεν οὐκ ἐθέλων· ὀλοὴ δέ μιν ἦγεν ἀνάγκη
κουριδίης εἰς ὦπα. λυγροὶ δέ οἱ ἀντιόωντες
κὰκ κορυφῆς ὄρνιθες ἀύτεον, οἱ δ' ἀνὰ χεῖρα
σκαιὴν ἀίσσοντες· ὁ δέ σφεας ἄλλοτε μέν που
δείδιεν εἰσορόων, ὁτὲ δ' ἀκράαντα πέτεσθαι
εἴδετο· τοὶ δέ οἱ αἰνὸν ὑπ' ἄλγεσι φαῖνον ὄλεθρον.
ἷξε δ' ἐς Οἰνώνην ἐρικυδέα· τὸν δ' ἐσιδοῦσαι
ἀμφίπολοι θάμβησαν ἀολλέες ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτή
Οἰνώνη. ὁ δ' ἄρ' αἶψα πέσεν παρὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός
. . .
ἀμφιμέλαιν' ἐφύπερθε καὶ ἔνδοθι μέχρις ἱκέσθαι
μυελὸν ἐς λιπόωντα δι' ὀστέου, οὕνεκα νηδύν
φάρμακον αἰνὸν ἔπυθε κατ' οὐτάμενον χρόα φωτός.

23 *AP* 14.105 1 μέλος Jacobs: γένος M

IV 263 ἐθέληι Rhodomann: ἔλθηι M 265 οἱ Pauw: μιν M 270 ἷξε Rhodomann: ἷζε M 272 post h. u. lac. pos. Rhodomann 273 ἀμφιμέλαιν' Vian: ἀμφὶ μέλαιν' M 274 οὕνεκα νηδύν Pauw: οὕνεκεν ἠὺν M

τείρετο δὲ στυγερῆι βεβολημένος ἦτορ ἀνίηι·
ὡς δ' ὅτε τις νούσωι τε καὶ ἀργαλέηι μέγα δίψηι
αἰθόμενος κραδίην ἀδινὸν κέαρ αὐαίνηται,
ὅν τε περιζείουσα χολὴ φλέγει, ἀμφὶ δὲ νωθής
ψυχὴ οἱ πεπότητ' ἐπὶ χείλεσιν αὐαλέοισιν
ἀμφότερον βιότου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἱμείρουσα·
ὣς τοῦ ὑπὸ στέρνοισι καταίθετο θυμὸς ἀνίηι·
καί ῥ' ὀλιγοδρανέων τοῖον ποτὶ μῦθον ἔειπεν·
"ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη, μὴ δή νύ με τειρόμενόν περ
ἐχθήρηις, ἐπεὶ ἄρ σε πάρος λίπον ἐν μεγάροισι
χήρην οὐκ ἐθέλων περ· ἄγον δέ με Κῆρες ἄφυκτοι
εἰς Ἑλένην, ἧς εἴθε πάρος λεχέεσσι μιγῆναι
σῆισιν ἐν ἀγκοίνηισι θανὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσα.
ἀλλ' ἄγε, πρός τε θεῶν οἵ τ' οὐρανὸν ἀμφινέμονται,
πρός τε τεῶν λεχέων καὶ κουριδίης φιλότητος,
ἤπιον ἔνθεο θυμόν, ἄχος δ' ἀλεγεινὸν ἄλαλκε
φάρμακ' ἀλεξήσοντα καθ' ἕλκεος οὐλομένοιο
θεῖσα τά μοι μεμόρηται ἀπωσέμεν ἄλγεα θυμοῦ,
ἢν ἐθέληις· σῆισιν γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσίν, εἴ τε σαῶσαι
μήδεαι ἐκ θανάτοιο δυσηχέος, εἴ τε καὶ οὐκί.
ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρε τάχιστα καὶ ὠκυμόρων σθένος ἰῶν
ἐξάκεσ', ἕως μοι ἔτ' ἀμφὶ μένος καὶ γυῖα τέθηλε·
μηδέ τί με ζήλοιο λυγροῦ μεμνημένη ἔμπης
καλλείψηις θανέεσθαι ἀμειλίκτωι ὑπὸ πότμωι
πὰρ ποσὶ σοῖσι πεσόντα. Λιτῆις δ' ἀποθύμια ῥέξεις
αἵ ῥα καὶ αὐταὶ Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο θύγατρες
εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ὑπερφιάλοις κοτέουσαι
ἐξόπιθε στονόεσσαν ἐπιθύνουσιν Ἐρινύν
καὶ χόλον. ἀλλὰ σύ, πότνα, κακὰς ἀπὸ Κῆρας ἔρυκε
ἐσσυμένως, εἰ καί τι παρήλιτον ἀφραδίηισιν."
 ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη· τῆς δ' οὔ τι φρένας παρέπεισε κελαινάς,

276 βεβολημένος Spitzner: βεβλη- M 277 τε Hermann: om. M 294 ἐπὶ Heyne: ὑπὸ M 297 ἕως Spitzner: ὡς M 305 ἐσσυμένως Rhodomann: -νου M

ἀλλά ἑ κερτομέουσα μέγ᾽ ἀχνύμενον προσέειπε·
"τίπτε μοι εἰλήλουθας ἐναντίον, ἣν ῥα πάροιθε
κάλλιπες ἐν μεγάροισιν ἀάσπετα κωκύουσαν
εἵνεκα Τυνδαρίδος πολυκηδέος; ἦι παριαύων
τέρπεο καγχαλόων, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φερτέρη ἐστὶ
τῆς σέο κουριδίης – τὴν γὰρ φάτις ἔμμεν ἀγήρω.
κείνην ἐσσύμενος γουνάζεο, μηδέ νύ μοί περ
δακρυόεις ἐλεεινὰ καὶ ἀλγινόεντα παραύδα.
αἲ γάρ μοι μέγα θηρὸς ὑπὸ κραδίηι μένος εἴη
δαρδάψαι σέο σάρκας, ἔπειτα δέ θ᾽ αἷμα λαφύξαι,
οἷά με πήματ᾽ ἔοργας ἀτασθαλίηισι πιθήσας.
σχέτλιε, ποῦ νύ τοί ἐστιν ἐυστέφανος Κυθέρεια;
πῆι δὲ πέλει γαμβροῖο λελασμένος ἀκάματος Ζεύς;
τούς ἔχ᾽ ἀοσσητῆρας· ἐμῶν δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆλε μελάθρων
χάζεο, καὶ μακάρεσσι καὶ ἀνδράσι πῆμ᾽ ἀλεγεινόν·
σεῖο γὰρ εἵνεκ᾽, ἀλιτρέ, καὶ ἀθανάτους ἕλε πένθος,
τοὺς μὲν ἐφ᾽ υἱωνοῖς, τοὺς δ᾽ υἱάσιν ὀλλυμένοισιν.
ἀλλά μοι ἔρρε δόμοιο καὶ εἰς Ἑλένην ἀφίκανε,
ἧς σε χρεὼ νυκτός τε καὶ ἤματος ἀσχαλόωντα
τρύζειν πὰρ λεχέεσσι πεπαρμένον ἄλγεϊ λυγρῶι,
εἰς ὅ κέ σ᾽ ἰήνειεν ἀνιηρῶν ὀδυνάων."
ὣς φαμένη γοόωντα φίλων ἀπέπεμπε μελάθρων,
νηπίη· οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐφράσσαθ᾽ ἑὸν μόρον· ἦ γὰρ ἔμελλον
κείνου ἀποφθιμένοιο καὶ αὐτῆι Κῆρες ἕπεσθαι
ἐσσυμένως· ὣς γάρ οἱ ἐπέκλωσεν Διὸς αἶσα.

Πάριν δ᾽ ἄρα θυμὸς ἐν Ἴδηι
κάλλιπεν, οὐδ᾽ Ἑλένη μιν ἐσέδρακε νοστήσαντα.
ἀμφὶ δέ μιν Νύμφαι μέγ᾽ ἐκώκυον, οὕνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτοῦ
εἰσέτι που μέμνηντο κατὰ φρένας ὅσσα πάροιθεν
ἐξέτι νηπιάχοιο συναγρομένηις ὀάριζε·
σὺν δέ σφιν μύροντο βοῶν θοοὶ ἀγροιῶται
ἀχνύμενοι κατὰ θυμόν· ἐπεστενάχοντο δὲ βῆσσαι.

308 μοι Rhodomann: με M   366 νηπιάχοιο Rhodomann: -χηισι M

οἴη δ᾽ ἐκ θυμοῖο δαΐζετο κυδαλίμοιο
Οἰνώνη· ἀλλ᾽ οὔ τι μετὰ Τρωιῆισιν ἐοῦσα
κώκυεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπάνευθεν ἐνὶ σφετέροισι μελάθροις
κεῖτο βαρὺ στενάχουσα παλαιοῦ λέκτρον ἀκοίτεω.
οἵη δ᾽ ἐν ξυλόχοισι περιτρέφεται κρύσταλλος
αἰπυτάτων ὀρέων, ἥ τ᾽ ἄγκεα πολλὰ παλύνει
χευαμένη Ζεφύροιο καταιγίσιν, ἀμφὶ δὲ μακραί
ἄκριες ὑδρηλῆισι κατειβόμεναι λιβάδεσσι
δεύονθ᾽, ἡ δὲ νάπηισιν ἀπειρεσίη περ ἐοῦσα
πίδακος ἐσσυμένης κρυερὸν περιτήκεται ὕδωρ·
ὣς ἥ γ᾽ ἀσχαλόωσα μέγα στυγερῆι ὑπ᾽ ἀνίηι
τήκετ᾽ ἀκηχεμένη πόσιος πέρι κουριδίοιο.
αἰνὰ δ᾽ ἀναστενάχουσα φίλον προσελέξατο θυμόν·
"ὤμοι ἀτασθαλίης, ὤμοι στυγεροῦ βιότοιο,
ἣ πόσιν ἀμφαγάπησα δυσάμμορος ὧι σὺν ἐώλπειν
γήραϊ τειρομένη βιότου κλυτὸν οὐδὸν ἱκέσθαι
αἰὲν ὁμοφρονέουσα· θεοὶ δ᾽ ἑτέρως ἐβάλοντο.
ὥς μ᾽ ὄφελον τότε Κῆρες ἀνηρείψαντο μέλαιναι,
ὁππότε νόσφιν ἔμελλον Ἀλεξάνδροιο πέλεσθαι.
ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ ζωός μ᾽ ἔλιπεν, μέγα τλήσομαι ἔργον
ἀμφ᾽ αὐτῶι θανέειν, ἐπεὶ οὔ τί μοι εὔαδεν ἠώς."
ὣς φαμένης ἐλεεινὰ κατὰ βλεφάρων ἐχέοντο
δάκρυα, κουριδίοιο δ᾽ ἀναπλήσαντος ὄλεθρον
μνωομένη, ἅτε κηρὸς ὑπαὶ πυρί, τήκετο λάθρηι
(ἅζετο γὰρ πατέρα σφὸν ἰδ᾽ ἀμφιπόλους ἐυπέπλους),
μέχρις ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν ἀπ᾽ εὐρέος Ὠκεανοῖο
νὺξ ἐχύθη, μερόπεσσι λύσιν καμάτοιο φέρουσα.
καὶ τότ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὑπνώοντος ἐνὶ μεγάροισι τοκῆος
καὶ δμώων, πυλεῶνας ἀναρρήξασα μελάθρων
ἔκθορεν ἠύτ᾽ ἄελλα · φέρον δέ μιν ὠκέα γυῖα.
ὡς δ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἀν᾽ οὔρεα πόρτιν ἐρασσαμένην μέγα ταύρου

415 περιτρέφεται Scaliger: περιστρ- M   425 σὺν Tychsen: συν- M
426 βιότου Rhodomann: ποτὶ M: περ ἐπὶ Vian   428 τότε Bonitz: ποτε M
435 ἰδ᾽ Lascaris: ἠδ᾽ M   436 ἀπ᾽ Rhodomann: ἐπ᾽ M   437 ἐχύθη Rhodomann: ἐλύθη M   438 τότ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Zimmermann: ῥα τόθ᾽ M

θυμὸς ἐποτρύνει ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι φέρεσθαι
ἐσσυμένως, ἡ δ' οὔ τι λιλαιομένη φιλότητος
ταρβεῖ βουκόλον ἄνδρα, φέρει δέ μιν ἄσχετος ὁρμή,
εἴ που ἐνὶ ξυλόχοισιν ὁμήθεα ταῦρον ἴδοιτο·
ὣς ἡ ῥίμφα θέουσα διήνυε μακρὰ κέλευθα
διζομένη τάχα ποσσὶ πυρῆς ἐπιβήμεναι αἰνῆς.
οὐδέ τί οἱ κάμε γούνατ', ἐλαφρότεροι δ' ἐφέροντο
ἐσσυμένης πόδες αἰέν· ἔπειγε γὰρ οὐλομένη Κὴρ
καὶ Κύπρις. οὐδέ τι θῆρας ἐδείδιε λαχνήεντας
ἀντομένη ὑπὸ νύκτα, πάρος μέγα πεφρικυῖα.
πᾶσα δέ οἱ λασίων ὀρέων ἐστείβετο πέτρη
καὶ κρημνοί, πᾶσαι δὲ διεπρήσσοντο χαράδραι.
τὴν δέ που εἰσορόωσα τόθ' ὑψόθε δῖα Σελήνη
μνησαμένη κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονος Ἐνδυμίωνος
πολλὰ μάλ' ἐσσυμένην ὀλοφύρετο καί οἱ ὕπερθε
λαμπρὸν παμφανόωσα μακρὰς ἀνέφαινε κελεύθους.
  ἵκετο δ' ἐμμεμαυῖα δι' οὔρεος, ἧχι καὶ ἄλλαι
Νύμφαι Ἀλεξάνδροιο νέκυν περικωκύεσκον.
τὸν δ' ἔτι που κρατερὸν πῦρ ἄμπεχεν, οὕνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῶι
μηλονόμοι ξυνιόντες ἀπ' οὔρεος ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι
ὕλην θεσπεσίην παρενήνεον, ἦρα φέροντες
ὑστατίην καὶ πένθος ὁμῶς ἑτάρωι καὶ ἄνακτι,
κλαίοντες μάλα πολλὰ περισταδόν. ἡ δέ μιν οὔ τι,
ἀμφαδὸν ὡς ἄθρησε, γοήσατο τειρομένη περ,
ἀλλὰ καλυψαμένη πέρι φάρεϊ καλὰ πρόσωπα
αἶψα πυρῆι ἐνέπαλτο. γόον δ' ἄρα πουλὺν ὄρινε·
καίετο δ' ἀμφὶ πόσει· Νύμφαι δέ μιν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι
θάμβεον, εὖτ' ἐσίδοντο μετ' ἀνέρι πεπτηυῖαν·
καί τις ἑὸν κατὰ θυμὸν ἔπος ποτὶ τοῖον ἔειπεν·
"ἀτρεκέως Πάρις ἦεν ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς μάλα κεδνήν

451 ἀντομένους Rhodomann 453 διεπρήσσοντο Rhodomann: -ήσαντο M 454 ὑψόθε Platt: -όθι M 456 ὀλοφύρετο Köchly: -ρατο M 457 παμφανόωσα Pauw: -φαίνουσα M 458 ἐμμεμαυῖα Platt: ἐμβεβαυῖα M 460 αὐτῶι Rhodomann: -τὸν m: -τῶν m 462 ἦρα Rhodomann: ὄφρα M 465 γοήσατο Pauw: βοή- M 467 πυρῆι Rhodomann: πυρὶ M

κάλλιπε κουριδίην καὶ ἀνήγαγε μάργον ἄκοιτιν,
οἷ αὐτῶι καὶ Τρωσὶ καὶ ἄστεϊ λοίγιον ἄλγος,
νήπιος· οὐδ' ἀλόχοιο περίφρονος ἄζετο θυμὸν
τειρομένης, ἥ πέρ μιν ὑπὲρ φάος ἠελίοιο
καί περ ἀπεχθαίροντα καὶ οὐ φιλέοντα τίεσκεν."
ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη Νύμφη τις ἀνὰ φρένας· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ μέσσηι
πυρκαϊῆι καίοντο λελασμένοι ἠριγενείης.
ἀμφὶ δὲ βουκόλοι ἄνδρες ἐθάμβεον, εὖτε πάροιθεν
Ἀργεῖοι θάμβησαν ἀολλέες ἀθρήσαντες
Εὐάδνην Καπανῆος ἐπεκχυμένην μελέεσσιν
ἀμφὶ πόσιν δμηθέντα Διὸς στονόεντι κεραυνῶι.
ἀλλ' ὁπότ' ἀμφοτέρους ὀλοὴ πυρὸς ἤνυσε ῥιπή
Οἰνώνην τε Πάριν τε, μιῆι δ' ὑποκάββαλε τέφρηι,
δὴ τότε πυρκαϊὴν οἴνωι σβέσαν, ὀστέα δ' αὐτῶν
χρυσέωι ἐν κρητῆρι θέσαν. περὶ δέ σφισι σῆμα
ἐσσυμένως τεύξαντο, θέσαν δ' ἄρα δοιὼ ὕπερθε
στήλας αἵ περ ἔασι τετραμμέναι ἄλλυδις ἄλλη,
ζῆλον ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἔτι στονόεντα φέρουσαι.

V

NONNUS

ACTAEON (*Dionysiaca* 5.287–551)

Ἔνθεν Ἀρισταίοιο καὶ Αὐτονόης ἀπὸ λέκτρων
Ἀκταίων ἀνέτελλε· φιλοσκοπέλωι δὲ μενοινῆι
Ἀγρέος αἷμα φέρων ἀπεμάξατο πάτριον ἄγρην,
Ἀρτέμιδος θεράπων ὀρεσίδρομος – οὐ νέμεσις δέ
δύσμορον Ἀκταίωνα μαθεῖν μελεδήματα θήρης
υἱωνὸν γεγαῶτα λεοντοφόνοιο Κυρήνης.
οὔ ποτέ μιν φύγεν ἄρκτος ὀρεστιάς, οὐδέ μιν αὐτῆς
λοίγιον ἐπτοίησε λεχωίδος ὄμμα λεαίνης·
πολλάκι δ' ὑψιπότητον ἐπιθρώισκοντα δοκεύων

483 ὁπότ' Köchly: ὅτε δ' M 484 τέφρηι Rhodomann: πέτρη M

πόρδαλιν ἐπρήνιξεν· ἀεὶ δέ μιν ὑψόθι λόχμης
ὄμμασι θαμβαλέοισιν ἐδέρκετο μηλονόμος Πάν
ὠκείης ἐλάφοιο παραΐσσοντα πορείην.
  ἀλλά οἱ οὐ χραίσμησε ποδῶν δρόμος, οὐδὲ φαρέτρη
ἤρκεσεν, οὐ βελέων σκοπὸς ὄρθιος, οὐ δόλος ἄγρης·
ἀλλά μιν ὤλεσε Μοῖρα, κυνοσπάδα νεβρὸν ἀλήτην,
Ἰνδώιην μετὰ δῆριν ἔτι πνείοντα κυδοιμοῦ,
εὖτε τανυπρέμνοιο καθήμενος ὑψόθι φηγοῦ
λουομένης ἐνόησεν ὅλον δέμας Ἰοχεαίρης,
θηητὴρ δ' ἀκόρητος ἀθηήτοιο θεαίνης
ἁγνὸν ἀνυμφεύτοιο δέμας διεμέτρεε κούρης
ἀγχιφανής· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀνείμονος εἶδος ἀνάσσης
ὄμματι λαθριδίωι δεδοκημένον ὄμματι λοξῶι
Νηιὰς ἀκρήδεμνος ἀπόπροθεν ἔδρακε Νύμφη,
ταρβαλέη δ' ὀλόλυξεν, ἑῆι δ' ἤγγειλεν ἀνάσσηι
ἀνδρὸς ἐρωμανέος θράσος ἄγριον· ἡμιφανὴς δέ
Ἄρτεμις ἁρπάξασα σὺν εἵματι κυκλάδα μίτρην
παρθενίωι ζωστῆρι σαόφρονας ἔσκεπε μαζούς,
καὶ διεροῖς μελέεσσιν ἔσω δύνουσα ῥεέθρων
αἰδομένη κατὰ βαιὸν ὅλον δέμας ἔκρυφε κούρη.
  Ἀκταίων βαρύποτμε, σὲ μὲν λίπεν αὐτίκα μορφή
ἀνδρομέη, πισύρων δὲ ποδῶν ἐδιχάζετο χηλή,
καὶ ταναοὶ γναθμοῖσιν ἐμηκύνοντο παρειαί,
κνῆμαι ἐλεπτύνοντο, καὶ ἀγκύλα δοιὰ μετώπωι
φύετο μακρὰ κόρυμβα τανυπτόρθοιο κεραίης,
καὶ στικτοῖς μελέεσσι νόθη ποικίλλετο μορφή,
καὶ λάσιον δέμας εἶχεν· ἀελλήεντι δὲ νεβρῶι
εἰσέτι μοῦνος ἔην νόος ἔμπεδος· ὠκυπόρωι δέ
ἔτρεχεν ἀξείνοιο δι' οὔρεος ἅλματι χηλῆς,
θηρητὴρ τρομέων θηρήτορας. ἀλλοφυῆ δέ
οὐκέτι τὸν πρὶν ἄνακτα κύνες μάθον· ἀχνυμένης γάρ
νεύμασιν ἀτρέπτοισι βαρύφρονος Ἰοχεαίρης

V 308 uocis ὄμματι repetitio suspecta: ὑψόθι δένδρου ad fin. Keydell 319 μετώπωι Graefe: -ων M 321 μελέεσσι νόθη Canter: -σσιν ὄθι M

φοιτάδος οἰστρήεντι μεμηνότες ἄσθματι λύσσης
νεβροφόνων ἐχάραξαν ὁμόζυγον ὄγμον ὀδόντων,
ψευδομένηι δ' ἐλάφοιο παραπλαγχθέντες ὀπωπῆι
στικτὸν ἐθοινήσαντο νόθον δέμας ἄφρονι λύσσηι.
  καὶ θεὸς ἄλλο νόησε, κύνας βραδέεσσι γενείοις
ἔμπνοον Ἀκταίωνα κεκασμένον ἔμφρονι θυμῶι
δαρδάπτειν κατὰ βαιόν, ἵνα φρένα μᾶλλον ἀμύξηι
ὀξυτέραις ὀδύνησιν· ὑπὸ βροτέηι δὲ μενοινῆι
πότμον ἑὸν στενάχων κινυρῆι βρυχήσατο φωνῆι·
"ὄλβιε Τειρεσία, σὺ γὰρ ἔδρακες ἐκτὸς ὀλέθρου
γυμνὸν ἀναινομένης οἰκτίρμονος εἶδος Ἀθήνης·
οὐ θάνες, οὐκ ἐλάφοιο δέμας λάχες, οὐδὲ μετώπωι
ὑμετέρωι προβλῆτες ἐπηιώρηντο κεραῖαι·
ζώεις σῶν βλεφάρων ὀλέσας φάος· ὑμετέρων δέ
ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμάρυγμα νόωι μετέθηκεν Ἀθήνη·
χώεται Ἰοχέαιρα κακώτερα Τριτογενείης.
αἴθε μοι ἄλγος ὄπασσεν ὁμοίιον, αἴθε καὶ αὐτή
ὄμμασιν ἡμετέροισιν ἐπέχραεν ὥς περ Ἀθήνη,
αἴθε νόον μετάμειψεν, ἅ περ δέμας· ἀλλοφυὴς γάρ
μορφὴ θηρὸς ἔχει με, καὶ ἀνέρος ἦθος ἀέξω.
σφωιτέρωι πότε θῆρες ἐπιστενάχουσιν ὀλέθρωι;
ἀφραδέες ζώουσι καὶ οὐ νοέουσι τελευτήν.
μοῦνος ἐγὼ μεθέπω πινυτὸν νόον· ὀλλύμενος δέ
ὄμμασι θηρείοισιν ἐχέφρονα δάκρυα λείβω.
ἄγριοι ἄρτι γένεσθε κύνες πλέον· οὔ ποτε τόσσον
ἅλματι λυσσήεντι κατεσσεύεσθε λεόντων.
αἴλινον Ἀκταίωνι, φίλαι, φθέγξασθε, κολῶναι,
ναὶ λίτομαι, καὶ θῆρες ὁμοίιοι· εἰπέ, Κιθαιρών,
Αὐτονόηι, τά περ εἶδες, Ἀρισταίωι δὲ τοκῆι
δάκρυσι πετραίοισιν ἐμὴν ἀγόρευε τελευτήν
καὶ κύνας οἰστρηθέντας ἀφειδέας. ὤμοι ἀνάγκης,
αὐτὸς ἐμαῖς παλάμησιν ἐμοὺς ἔθρεψα φονῆας.

329 νεβροφόνων ἐχάραξαν Scaliger: -φόνον τε χάρ- M ὄγμον Köchly: ἐσμὸν M 330 ψευδομένηι δ' … ὀπωπῆι Graefe: -μένης τ' … -πῆς M 336 στενάχων Graefe: στον- M 351 ὄμμασι Huet: δάκρυσι M

αἴθε λέων με δάμασσεν ὀρίδρομος, αἴθε με σύρων
πόρδαλις αἰολόνωτος ἀνέσχισεν, αἴθε με πικροῖς
ἀμφιπαγεῖς ὀνύχεσσιν ἀφειδέσι λυσσάδες ἄρκτοι
νεβροφανῆ χαροποῖσιν ἐδαιτρεύσαντο γενείοις,
μηδὲ κύνες με δάμασσαν ὁμήθεες· οὐκέτι μορφήν,
οὐκέτι γινώσκουσιν ἐμὴν ἑτερόθροον ἠχώ.''
  ἡμιθανὴς τάδ' ἔλεξε, καὶ οὐκ ἀίοντα λιτάων
θηρείηι κύνα μάργον ἐλίσσετο πενθάδι φωνῆι·
μύθους μὲν προέηκεν ἐχέφρονας, ἀντὶ δὲ φωνῆς
ἀνδρομέης κελάδησεν ἀσημάντου θρόος ἠχοῦς.
  ἤδη δ' αὐτοδίδακτος ὀρεστιὰς ἵπτατο Φήμη
Αὐτονόηι βοόωσα κυνοσπάδα παιδὸς ἀνάγκην,
οὐ μὲν ὅπως ἐλάφοιο δασύτριχα δύσατο μορφήν,
ἀλλ' ὅτι μοῦνον ὄλωλε. φιλοστόργωι δὲ μενοινῆι
νήλιπος ἀκρήδεμνος ἱμάσσετο πένθεϊ μήτηρ·
καὶ πλοκάμους ἐδάιξεν, ὅλον δ' ἔρρηξε χιτῶνα,
πενθαλέοις δ' ὀνύχεσσιν ἑὰς ἐχάραξε παρειάς
αἵματι φοινίξασα, κατὰ στέρνοιο δὲ γυμνοῦ
παιδοκόμων ἐρύθηνε φερέσβιον ἄντυγα μαζῶν
μνησαμένη τοκετοῖο· φιλοθρήνου δὲ προσώπου
δάκρυσιν ἀενάοισιν ἐλούσατο φάρεα νύμφη.
καὶ κύνες Ἀκταίωνος ἀπὸ σκοπέλοιο μολόντες
μῦθον ἐπιστώσαντο δυσάγγελον· ἠιθέου γάρ
δάκρυσι σιγαλέοισιν ἐμαντεύοντο τελευτήν.
μυρομένους δ' ὁρόωσα πολὺ πλέον ἔστενε μήτηρ·
καὶ πολιὴν πλοκαμῖδα γέρων ἀπεκείρατο Κάδμος,
Ἁρμονίη δ' ἰάχησε· φιλοκλαύτων δὲ γυναικῶν
συμφερτῆι βαρύδουπος ὅλος δόμος ἔβρεμεν ἠχῆι.
  Αὐτονόη δ' ὁμόφοιτος Ἀρισταίωι παρακοίτηι
ἤιε μαστεύουσα πολύπλανα λείψανα νεκροῦ.

361 πικροῖς Falkenburg: -ρῆς M 366 ἡμιθανὴς Falkenburg: -φανὴς M 370 αὐτοτέλεστος m 375 ἐδάιξεν, ὅλον Köchly: ἐδάιξε νόθον M: -ξεν, ἑὸν Casaubon 380 νύμφη Falkenburg: -φης M 387 συμφερτῆι ... ὅλος δόμος ... ἠχῆι Keydell: -τὴ ... ὅλον δόμον ... ἠχώ M

εἶδε καὶ οὐ γίνωσκεν ἑὸν γόνον, ἔδρακε μορφήν
δαιδαλέης ἐλάφοιο καὶ οὐκ ἴδεν ἀνδρὸς ὀπωπήν,
πολλάκι δ' ἀγνώστοιο παρέστιχεν ὀστέα νεβροῦ
ἐν χθονὶ κεκλιμένοιο καὶ οὐ μάθεν· ὀλλυμένου γάρ
παιδὸς ἑοῦ δοκέεσκεν ἰδεῖν βροτοειδέα μορφήν.
δύσμορον Αὐτονόην οὐ μέμφομαι· ἀλλοφυῆ γάρ
λείψανα παιδὸς ὄπωπεν, ἀτεκμάρτου δὲ προσώπου
γαμφηλὰς ἐνόησε καὶ οὐκ ἴδε κύκλον ὀπωπῆς,
καὶ κεράων ἔψαυσε καὶ υἱέος οὐ μάθε κόρσην·
λεπταλέους πόδας εἶδε καὶ οὐκ ἐφράσσατο ταρσούς,
λεπταλέους πόδας εὗρε καὶ οὐκ ἴδε κύκλα πεδίλων.
δύσμορον Αὐτονόην οὐ μέμφομαι· οἰχομένου γάρ
ὀφθαλμοὺς βροτέους οὐκ ἔδρακεν, οὐκ ἴδε μορφῆς
ἀνδρομέης ἴνδαλμα, καὶ οὐκ ἐνόησεν ἰούλων
ἄνθεϊ πορφυρέωι κεχαραγμένον ἀνθερεῶνα.
φοιταλέοις δὲ πόδεσσι διερχομένη ῥάχιν ὕλης
τρηχαλέης ἐπάτησε δυσέμβατα νῶτα κολώνης
λυσιχίτων ἀπέδιλος· ὀριπλανέων δ' ἀπὸ μόχθων
νόστιμος εἰς δόμον ἦλθεν· ἐπ' ἀπρήκτωι δὲ μενοινῆι
ἀχνυμένη μόγις εὗδε σὺν αἰνοτόκωι παρακοίτηι.
ἄμφω δὲ σκιεροῖσιν ἐφωμίλησαν ὀνείροις,
ὄμμασιν ἁρπάξαντες ἀηδονίου πτερὸν Ὕπνου.
  ψυχὴ δ' ἠιθέοιο κατηφέι πατρὶ παρέστη
στικτὸν ἔχων ἐλάφου σκιόεν δέμας· ἐκ βλεφάρων δέ
ἔμφρονα δάκρυα χεῦε, καὶ ἀνδρομέηι φάτο φωνῆι·
''ὦ πάτερ, ὑπνώεις, καὶ ἐμὴν οὐκ οἶδας ἀνάγκην·
ἔγρεο καὶ γίνωσκε νόθην ἄγνωστον ὀπωπήν,
ἔγρεο καὶ πήχυνε φίλης ἐλάφοιο κεραίην,
καὶ κύσον ἔμφρονα θῆρα, τὸν Αὐτονόης τέκε γαστήρ.
αὐτὸν ὀπιπεύεις με, τὸν ἔτρεφες· ἀμφότερον γάρ
δέρκεαι Ἀκταίωνα καὶ Ἀκταίωνος ἀκούεις.
εἰ παλάμην ποθέεις καὶ δάκτυλα παιδὸς ἀφάσσειν,
προσθιδίους σκοπίαζε πόδας, καὶ χεῖρα νοήσεις·

390 εἶδε Falkenburg: εἰ δὲ M 399 εἶδε] εὗρε Marcellus 400 εὗρε] εἶδε Marcellus

εἰ κεφαλὴν ποθέεις, κεφαλὴν ἐλάφοιο δοκεύοις·
εἰ βροτέους κροτάφους, δολιχὰς σκοπίαζε κεραίας·
εἰ πόδας Ἀκταίωνος, ὀπισθιδίην ἴδε χηλήν·
εἰ μελέων τρίχας εἶδες, ἐμοὶ γεγάασι χιτῶνες.
υἷα, πάτερ, γίνωσκε, τὸν οὐκ ἐσάωσεν Ἀπόλλων·
υἷα, πάτερ, στενάχιζε, τὸν οὐκ ἐφύλαξε Κιθαιρών.
ἀλλοφυῆ σέο παῖδα κατηφέι κεῦθε κονίηι·
μὴ τεὸν ἀκτερέιστον ὀλωλότα νεβρὸν ἐάσσηις·
μή σε παραπλάγξειε νόθη καὶ ἄπιστος ὀπωπή.
αἴθε, πάτερ, με φύλαξας ἀήθεα θηροσυνάων·
οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ πόθον εἶχον ἐρημάδος Ἰοχεαίρης,
οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ δέμας εἶδον Ὀλύμπιον. αἴθε δὲ κούρης
θνητῆς εἶχον ἔρωτα· χαμαιγενέας δὲ γυναῖκας
καλλείψας ἑτέροισι καὶ ὠκυμόρους ὑμεναίους
ἀθανάτην ἐπόθησα· χολωομένης δὲ θεαίνης
δεῖπνον ἐμῶν σκυλάκων γενόμην, πάτερ· εἰσὶ κολῶναι
μάρτυρες· εἰ σκοπέλοις οὐ πείθεαι, εἴρεο Νύμφας
Νηϊάδας· δεδάασιν Ἁμαδρύες· ἰσοτύπους δέ
θῆρας ἐμοὺς ἐρέεινε, καὶ οὓς ἐκάλεσσα νομῆας.
ἀλλά, πάτερ, πυμάτην πόρε μοι χάριν, ἀφραδέας δέ
πένθος ἔχων φιλότεκνον ἐμοὺς μὴ κτεῖνε φονῆας,
παιδοφόνους οἴκτειρον ἀμεμφέας· ἡμετέραις γάρ
θηρείαις ἀέκοντες ἀπεπλάγχθησαν ὀπωπαῖς.
τίς δὲ κύων ἐλάφου ποτὲ φείδεται; ἢὲ τίς ἀνήρ
νεβροφόνοις σκυλάκεσσι χολώεται; ἃ πόσα δειλοί
κυκλάδες ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα περιτροχόωσι κολώνας
καὶ νέκυν ἰχνεύουσι, τὸν ἔκτανον· ἐκ βλεφάρων δέ
δάκρυα μὲν προχέουσιν ἐχέφρονα καὶ ποσὶν ἄκροις
δίκτυα πηχύνουσι φιλοστόργωι τινὶ θεσμῶι
ἀνδράσιν ἀχνυμένοισιν ἐοικότες, ἡμετέρηι δέ
πενθαλέαις ὑλακῆισιν ἐπικλαίουσι χαμεύνηι.

423 δοκεύοις Köchly: -εύεις M 440 Νηϊάδας Ludwich: -δες M Ἁμαδρύες Koch: ἐμαὶ δρύες M 444–5 ἡμετέραις . . . θηρείαις . . . ὀπωπαῖς Graefe: -ρης . . . -είης . . . -πῆς M 448 κυκλάδες Graefe: -δας M 451 θεσμῶι Marcellus: δεσ- M

ναί, λίτομαι, μὴ κτεῖνε νοήμονας· ἡμετέρου γάρ
δέρματα λαχνήεντος ἐθηήσαντο προσώπου,
οὐδὲ λιταῖς πείθοντο, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέκοψαν ὀδόντας
ἀλλοίης ἀίοντες ἐμῆς μυκήματα φωνῆς·
καὶ κινυροῖς στομάτεσσιν ἐμὴν ἐρέεινον ἐρίπνην·
'σήμερον Ἀκταίωνα τίς ἥρπασεν, εἴπατε, πέτραι,
πῆι δρόμον ἀμφιέπει κεμαδοσσόον, εἴπατε, Νύμφαι.'
τοῖα κύνες φθέγξαντο· καὶ ἀντιάχησε κολώνη·
'τίς κεμὰς οὐρεσίφοιτος ἔχει κεμαδοσσόον ἄγρην;
οὐκ ἔλαφον πυθόμην ἐλαφηβόλον· ἀλλοφυὴς δέ
Ἀκταίων μετάμειπτο καὶ ἔπλετο νεβρὸς ἐχέφρων,
ὅς ποτε θῆρας ἔπεφνεν· ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνωι δὲ καὶ αὐτός
Ἀγρέος αἷμα φέρων ἀγρεύεται Ἰοχεαίρηι.'
τοῖα μὲν ἀχνυμένων σκυλάκων ἐβόησαν ἐρίπναι.
πολλάκι δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶπεν ἐμῶι μαστῆρι φονῆι·
'λῆγε, κύων βαρύμοχθε, πολύπλανον ἴχνος ἑλίσσων·
δίζεαι Ἀκταίωνα, τὸν ἔνδοθι γαστρὸς ἀείρεις,
δίζεαι Ἀκταίωνα, τὸν ἔκτανες· ἢν ἐθελήσηις,
ὄψεαι ὀστέα μοῦνα τεῆς ἔτι λείψανα φορβῆς.'
  ἀλλά, πάτερ, κατὰ κόσμον ἐμὸν μόρον εἰς σὲ βοήσω.
θάμνος ἔην τανύφυλλος, ὁ μὲν φυλίης, ὁ δ' ἐλαίης·
δειλὸς ἐγώ· φιλίης γὰρ ἐπώνυμον ἔρνος ἐάσσας
πρέμνον ἐς ἀγχικέλευθον ἀνέδραμον ἁγνὸν ἐλαίης
Ἀρτέμιδος χρόα γυμνὸν ἀθηήτοιο δοκεύων.
ἀασάμην· διδύμην γὰρ ἀτάσθαλον ὕβριν ἀέξων
Παλλάδος εἰς φυτὸν ἦλθον, ἰδεῖν δέμας Ἰοχεαίρης
τολμηροῖς βλεφάροισιν, ὅθεν βαρύμηνις ἀπειλή
ἔχραεν Ἀκταίωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀθήνης.
ἄρτι γὰρ ἱδρώουσα πυραυγέι καύματος ἀτμῶι
Ἄρτεμις εὐκαμάτοιο μετὰ δρόμον ἠθάδος ἄγρης
λούετο μὲν καθαροῖσιν ἐν ὕδασι, λουομένης δέ
ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀμάρυσσεν ἐμοὺς ἀντώπιος αἴγλη

454 γοήμονας Graefe 469 πολυπλανὲς Ludwich 474 φυλίης Köhler: φιλ- M 480 βλεφάροισιν Falkenburg: -ρεσσιν M

χιονέας ἀκτῖνας ἀκοντίζουσα ῥεέθροις·
φαίης δ', ὡς παρὰ χεῦμα παλίμπορον Ὠκεανοῖο
ἑσπερίη σελάγιζε δι' ὕδατος ὄμπνια Μήνη.
Νηιάδες δ' ὀλόλυξαν ὁμήλυδες· ἴαχε Λοξώ
σύνθροον Οὖπιν ἔχουσα, γαληναίωι δὲ ῥεέθρωι
νηχομένην ἀνέκοψε κασιγνήτην Ἑκαέργην.
καὶ ζόφος ἠερόφοιτος ἐμὰς ἐκάλυψεν ὀπωπάς·
ἐκ δὲ φυτοῦ προκάρηνος ἐπωλίσθησα κονίηι,
καὶ λάχον ἐξαπίνης δέμας αἰόλον, ἀντὶ δὲ μορφῆς
ἀνδρομέης ἄγνωστον ἐμὸν δέμας ἔσκεπε λάχνη,
καὶ κύνες ἀγρευτῆρες ἑοὺς ἐχάραξαν ὀδόντας.
σιγήσω τάδε πάντα – τί δεύτερον ἄλγος ἐνίψω; –
μή σε καὶ ὑπνώοντα πάλιν στοναχῆισι πελάσσω.
πολλάκι δένδρον ἐκεῖνο παρέστιχες, ὁππόθι κεῖται
λείψανον Ἀκταίωνος, ὑπὲρ δαπέδου δὲ λυθέντα
πολλάκι δαιδαλέοιο παρήλυθες ὀστέα νεβροῦ
οἰκτρὰ πολυβρώτων μελέων, μεμερισμένα γαίηι,
ἀλλήλων ἀπάνευθεν. ἐγὼ δέ σοι ἄλλο βοήσω
πιστὸν ἐμοῦ θανάτου σημήιον· ἀρχεκάκου γάρ
ὄψεαι ἰοδόκην καὶ ἐμὸν βέλος ἐγγύθι δένδρου,
εἰ μὴ καὶ πτερόεντες ἐμορφώθησαν ὀιστοί,
εἰ μὴ χωομένη πάλιν Ἄρτεμις εἰς φυτὸν ὕλης
τόξον ἐμὸν μετάμειψεν, ἐμὴν δ' ἤλλαξε φαρέτρην.
ὄλβιος Ὦτος ἔην, ὅτι μὴ πέλε νεβρὸς ἀλήτης·
οὐ κύνες Ὠρίωνα κυνοσσόον . . . αἴθε καὶ αὐτόν
σκορπίος Ἀκταίωνα κατέκτανεν ὀξέι κέντρωι.
δειλὸς ἐγώ· κενεὴ γὰρ ἐμὸν νόον ἤπαφε φήμη·
εἰσαΐων δ', ὅτι Φοῖβος, ἀδελφεὸς Ἰοχεαίρης,
Κυρήνηι παρίαυεν, ἐμὸν δ' ἔσπειρε τοκῆα,
Ἄρτεμιν ὠισάμην ἐμφύλιον εἰς γάμον ἕλκειν.
καὶ πάλιν εἰσαΐων, ὅτι νυμφίον ἀργέτις Ἠώς

487 δ' delendum esse censuit Köchly 492 ζόφος Cunaeus: λό- M 502 οἰκτρὰ] γυμνὰ Köchly 509 Ὦτος Scaliger: οὗτος M 510 post κυνοσσόον lac. ind. Graefe: διέσπασαν pro κυν. Cunaeus

ἥρπασεν Ὠρίωνα καὶ Ἐνδυμίωνα Σελήνη,
καὶ βροτὸν Ἰασίωνα πόσιν προσπτύξατο Δηώ,
ὠισάμην, ὅτι τοῖος ἔην νόος Ἰοχεαίρης.
ἀλλά, πάτερ, κτερέιζε νόθην κεραελκέα μορφήν,
μηδὲ λίπηις ἑτέροισι κυσὶν μέλπηθρα γενέσθαι.
ἢν δὲ κατακρύψηις ἐμὰ λείψανα κοιλάδι γαίηι,
δῶρον ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῦτο χαρίζεο· τόξα καὶ ἰούς
πῆξον ἐμὸν παρὰ τύμβον, ὅ περ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.
ἀλλὰ βέλος καὶ τόξον ἔα, πάτερ, ὅττι βελέμνοις
τέρπεται Ἰοχέαιρα καὶ ἀγκύλα τόξα τιταίνει.
ζωιοτύπον δ' ἱκέτευε πολύτροπον, ὄφρα χαράξηι
στικτὸν ἐμὸν νόθον εἶδος ἀπ' αὐχένος εἰς πόδας ἄκρους·
μοῦνον ἐμοῦ βροτέοιο τύπον τεύξειε προσώπου,
πάντες ἵνα γνώωσιν ἐμὴν ψευδήμονα μορφήν.
μὴ δέ, πάτερ, γράψειας ἐμὸν μόρον· οὐ δύναται γάρ
δακρυχέειν ἐμὸν εἶδος ὁμοῦ καὶ πότμον ὁδίτης."
εἶπεν ὀνειρείη νοερὴ κεμάς, ἀπροϊδὴς δέ
ὤιχετο πωτήεσσα· καὶ Αὐτονόης παρακοίτης
ἄνθορεν ὀμφήεντος ἀπορρίψας πτερὸν Ὕπνου.
ἐκ λεχέων δὲ δάμαρτα πολυπτοίητον ἐγείρας
πέφραδε θηρείην κεραελκέα παιδὸς ὀπωπήν,
καὶ μύθους ἀγόρευεν, ὅσους φάτο νεβρὸς ἐχέφρων.
καὶ γόος ἔπλετο μᾶλλον· Ἀρισταίοιο δὲ νύμφη
ἤιε μαστεύουσα τὸ δεύτερον, ἀχνυμένη δέ
πυκνὰ τανυπρέμνοιο διέστιχεν ἔνδια λόχμης·
καὶ κραναῶν στείβουσα δυσέμβατα κύκλα κελεύθων
κεῖνο μόγις φυτὸν εὗρε μιαιφόνον, εὗρε καὶ αὐτήν
ἰοδόκην καὶ τόξον ἐρημαίωι παρὰ δένδρωι.
ὀστέα δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα χυτῆι μεμερισμένα γαίηι,
λείψανα πεπτηῶτα, μόγις συνελέξατο μήτηρ,
καὶ φιλίηι παλάμηι γλυκερὴν πήχυνε κεραίην,
καὶ κύσεν αἰνομόροιο δασύτριχα χείλεα νεβροῦ.

518 προσπτύξατο Graefe: προπτ- M 530 γνώωσιν Rhodomann: -ουσιν M 537 θηρείην Lubin: -είης M

ὀξὺ δὲ κωκύουσα νέκυν τυμβεύσατο μήτηρ,
πάντα δέ οἱ παρὰ τύμβον ἐπέγραφεν, ὅσσα τοκῆι
ἔννυχος Ἀκταίωνος ὀνειρείη φάτο φωνή.

VI

MUSAEUS

HERO AND LEANDER

Εἰπέ, θεά, κρυφίων ἐπιμάρτυρα λύχνον ἐρώτων
καὶ νύχιον πλωτῆρα θαλασσοπόρων ὑμεναίων
καὶ γάμον ἀχλυόεντα, τὸν οὐκ ἴδεν ἄφθιτος Ἠώς,
καὶ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἄβυδον, ὅπηι γάμον ἔννυχον Ἡροῦς
νηχόμενόν τε Λέανδρον ὁμοῦ καὶ λύχνον ἀκούω,
λύχνον ἀπαγγέλλοντα διακτορίην Ἀφροδίτης,
Ἡροῦς νυκτιγάμοιο γαμοστόλον ἀγγελιώτην,
λύχνον, Ἔρωτος ἄγαλμα, τὸν ὤφελεν αἰθέριος Ζεύς
ἐννύχιον μετ' ἄεθλον ἄγειν ἐς ὁμήγυριν ἄστρων
καί μιν ἐπικλῆσαι νυμφοστόλον ἄστρον ἐρώτων,
ὅττι πέλεν συνέριθος ἐρωμανέων ὀδυνάων
ἀγγελίην τ' ἐφύλαξεν ἀκοιμήτων ὑμεναίων,
πρὶν χαλεπαῖς πνοιῆισιν ἀήμεναι ἐχθρὸν ἀήτην.
ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι μέλποντι μίαν συνάειδε τελευτήν
λύχνου σβεννυμένοιο καὶ ὀλλυμένοιο Λεάνδρου.
  Σηστὸς ἔην καὶ Ἄβυδος ἐναντίον ἐγγύθι πόντου·
γείτονές εἰσι πόληες· Ἔρως δ' ἐὰ τόξα τιταίνων
ἀμφοτέραις πολίεσσιν ἕνα ξύνωσεν ὀιστόν,
ἠίθεον φλέξας καὶ παρθένον· οὔνομα δ' αὐτῶν
ἱμερόεις τε Λέανδρος ἔην καὶ παρθένος Ἡρώ.
ἡ μὲν Σηστὸν ἔναιεν, ὁ δὲ πτολίεθρον Ἀβύδου,
ἀμφοτέρων πολίων περικαλλέες ἀστέρες ἄμφω,
εἴκελοι ἀλλήλοισι. σὺ δ' εἴ ποτε κεῖθι περήσεις,

VI 13 χαλεπαῖς Köchly: -πῆισι m: -ποῖσι m: -πὸν m 17 ἐὰ Lehrs: ἀνὰ M: ἴσα Dilthey 18 ξύνωσεν Dilthey: ξυνέηκεν M

δίζεό μοί τινα πύργον, ὅπηι ποτὲ Σηστιὰς Ἡρώ
ἵστατο λύχνον ἔχουσα, καὶ ἡγεμόνευε Λεάνδρωι·
δίζεο δ' ἀρχαίης ἁλιηχέα πορθμὸν Ἀβύδου,
εἰσέτι που κλαίοντα μόρον καὶ ἔρωτα Λεάνδρου.
  ἀλλὰ πόθεν Λείανδρος Ἀβυδόθι δώματα ναίων
Ἡροῦς εἰς πόθον ἦλθε, πόθωι δ' ἐνέδησε καὶ αὐτήν;
  Ἡρὼ μὲν χαρίεσσα, διοτρεφὲς αἷμα λαχοῦσα,
Κύπριδος ἦν ἱέρεια, γάμων δ' ἀδίδακτος ἐοῦσα
πύργον ἀπὸ προγόνων παρὰ γείτονι ναῖε θαλάσσηι,
ἄλλη Κύπρις ἄνασσα· σαοφροσύνηι δὲ καὶ αἰδοῖ
οὐδέποτ' ἀγρομένηισι συνωμίλησε γυναιξίν
οὐδὲ χορὸν χαρίεντα μετήλυθεν ἥλικος ἥβης,
μῶμον ἀλευομένη ζηλήμονα θηλυτεράων –
καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγλαΐηι ζηλήμονές εἰσι γυναῖκες –
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Κυθέρειαν ἱλασκομένη μετ' Ἀθήνην
πολλάκι καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα παρηγορέεσκε θυηλαῖς
μητρὶ σὺν οὐρανίηι, φλογερὴν τρομέουσα φαρέτρην.
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς ἀλέεινε πυρὶ πνείοντας ὀιστούς.
  δὴ γὰρ Κυπριδίη πανδήμιος ἦλθεν ἑορτή,
τὴν ἀνὰ Σηστὸν ἄγουσιν Ἀδώνιδι καὶ Κυθερείηι·
πασσυδίηι δ' ἔσπευδον ἐς ἱερὸν ἦμαρ ἱκέσθαι,
ὅσσοι ναιετάεσκον ἁλιστεφέων σφυρὰ νήσων,

. . .

οἱ μὲν ἀφ' Αἱμονίης, οἱ δ' εἰναλίης ἀπὸ Κύπρου·
οὐδὲ γυνή τις ἔμιμνεν ἀνὰ πτολίεθρα Κυθήρων,
οὐ Λιβάνου θυόεντος ἐνὶ πτερύγεσσι χορεύων,
οὐδὲ περικτιόνων τις ἐλείπετο τῆμος ἑορτῆς,
οὐ Φρυγίης ναέτης, οὐ γείτονος ἀστὸς Ἀβύδου,
οὐδέ τις ἠιθέων φιλοπάρθενος· ἦ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι,
αἰὲν ὁμαρτήσαντες ὅπηι φάτις ἐστὶν ἑορτῆς,
οὐ τόσον ἀθανάτοισιν ἄγειν σπεύδουσι θυηλάς,
ὅσσον ἀγειρομένων διὰ κάλλεα παρθενικάων.

33 τε m post h. u. lac. pos. Ludwich 38 μετ' Ἀθήνην Ludwich e schol.: ἀφροδίτην M 45 ναιετάασκον m ἁλιτρεφέων m post h. u. lac. pos. Ludwich 47 ἐνὶ πτολίεσσι m 53 ἀθανάτοις ἀγέμεν m 54 ἀγειρόμενοι m

ἡ δὲ θεῆς ἀνὰ νηὸν ἐπώιχετο παρθένος Ἡρώ
μαρμαρυγὴν χαρίεσσαν ἀπαστράπτουσα προσώπου
οἷά τε λευκοπάρηιος ἐπαντέλλουσα σελήνη.
ἄκρα δὲ χιονέης φοινίσσετο κύκλα παρειῆς,
ὡς ῥόδον ἐκ καλύκων διδυμόχροον· ἦ τάχα φαίης
Ἡροῦς ἐν μελέεσσι ῥόδων λειμῶνα φανῆναι·
χροιὴ γὰρ μελέων ἐρυθαίνετο· νισσομένης δέ
καὶ ῥόδα λευκοχίτωνος ὑπὸ σφυρὰ λάμπετο κούρης,
πολλαὶ δ᾿ ἐκ μελέων χάριτες ῥέον. οἱ δὲ παλαιοί
τρεῖς Χάριτας ψεύσαντο πεφυκέναι· εἷς δέ τις Ἡροῦς
ὀφθαλμὸς γελόων ἑκατὸν Χαρίτεσσι τεθήλει.
ἀτρεκέως ἱέρειαν ἐπάξιον εὕρατο Κύπρις.
ὣς ἡ μὲν περιπολλὸν ἀριστεύουσα γυναικῶν,
Κύπριδος ἀρήτειρα, νέη διεφαίνετο Κύπρις.
δύσατο δ᾿ ἠιθέων ἁπαλὰς φρένας· οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν
ἦεν, ὃς οὐ μενέαινεν ἔχειν ὁμοδέμνιον Ἡρώ.
ἡ δ᾿ ἄρα, καλλιθέμεθλον ὅπηι κατὰ νηὸν ἀλᾶτο,
ἑσπόμενον νόον εἶχε καὶ ὄμματα καὶ φρένας ἀνδρῶν.
καί τις ἐν ἠιθέοισιν ἐθαύμασε καὶ φάτο μῦθον·
"καὶ Σπάρτης ἐπέβην, Λακεδαίμονος ἔδρακον ἄστυ,
ἧχι μόθον καὶ ἄεθλον ἀκούομεν ἀγλαϊάων·
τοίην δ᾿ οὔ ποτ᾿ ὄπωπα νέην ἰδανήν θ᾿ ἁπαλήν τε·
ἦ τάχα Κύπρις ἔχει Χαρίτων μίαν ὁπλοτεράων.
παπταίνων ἐμόγησα, κόρον δ᾿ οὐχ εὗρον ὀπωπῆς.
αὐτίκα τεθναίην λεχέων ἐπιβήμενος Ἡροῦς.
οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ κατ᾿ Ὄλυμπον ἐφιμείρω θεὸς εἶναι
ἡμετέρην παράκοιτιν ἔχων ἐνὶ δώμασιν Ἡρώ.
εἰ δέ μοι οὐκ ἐπέοικε τεὴν ἱέρειαν ἀφάσσειν,
τοίην μοι, Κυθέρεια, νέην παράκοιτιν ὀπάσσοις."
τοῖα μὲν ἠιθέων τις ἐφώνεεν· ἄλλοθε δ᾿ ἄλλος
ἕλκος ὑποκλέπτων ἐπεμήνατο κάλλεϊ κούρης.
αἰνοπαθὲς Λείανδρε, σὺ δ᾿ ὡς ἴδες εὐκλέα κούρην,

58 παρειῆς Wernicke: (χιονέης) παρειῶν M 69 αὐτῶν Dilthey: ἀνδρῶν M 72 εἷλκε Dilthey 76 νέην ἰδανήν θ᾿ ἁπαλήν τε Dilthey: plus minus corrupta habent M

οὐκ ἔθελες κρυφίοισι κατατρύχειν φρένα κέντροις,
ἀλλὰ πυριβλήτοισι δαμεὶς ἀδόκητον ὀιστοῖς
οὐκ ἔθελες ζώειν περικαλλέος ἄμμορος Ἡροῦς·
σὺν βλεφάρων δ᾿ ἀκτῖσιν ἀέξετο πυρσὸς ἐρώτων,
καὶ κραδίη πάφλαζεν ἀνικήτου πυρὸς ὁρμῆι.
κάλλος γὰρ περίπυστον ἀμωμήτοιο γυναικός
ὀξύτερον μερόπεσσι πέλει πτερόεντος ὀιστοῦ·
ὀφθαλμὸς δ᾿ ὁδός ἐστιν· ἀπ᾿ ὀφθαλμοῖο βολάων
κάλλος ὀλισθαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ φρένας ἀνδρὸς ὁδεύει.
εἷλε δέ μιν τότε θάμβος, ἀναιδείη, τρόμος, αἰδώς·
ἔτρεμε μὲν κραδίην, αἰδὼς δέ μιν εἶχεν ἁλῶναι,
θάμβεε δ᾿ εἶδος ἄριστον, ἔρως δ᾿ ἀπενόσφισεν αἰδῶ·
θαρσαλέως δ᾿ ὑπ᾿ ἔρωτος ἀναιδείην ἀγαπάζων
ἠρέμα ποσσὶν ἔβαινε καὶ ἀντίον ἵστατο κούρης·
λοξὰ δ᾿ ὀπιπεύων δολερὰς ἐλέλιζεν ὀπωπάς
νεύμασιν ἀφθόγγοισι παραπλάζων φρένα κούρης.
αὐτὴ δ᾿, ὡς συνέηκε πόθον δολόεντα Λεάνδρου,
χαῖρεν ἐπ᾿ ἀγλαΐηισιν· ἐν ἡσυχίηι δὲ καὶ αὐτή
πολλάκις ἱμερόεσσαν ἑὴν ἐπέκυψεν ὀπωπήν,
νεύμασι λαθριδίοισιν ἐπαγγέλλουσα Λεάνδρωι,
καὶ πάλιν ἀντέκλινεν· ὁ δ᾿ ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἰάνθη,
ὅττι πόθον συνέηκε καὶ οὐκ ἀπεσείσατο κούρη.
ὄφρα μὲν οὖν Λείανδρος ἐδίζετο λάθριον ὥρην,
φέγγος ἀναστείλασα κατήιεν ἐς δύσιν Ἠώς,
ἐκ περάτης δ᾿ ἀνέτελλε βαθύσκιος Ἕσπερος ἀστήρ.
αὐτὰρ ὁ θαρσαλέως μετεκίαθεν ἐγγύθι κούρης
ὡς ἴδε κυανόπεπλον ἐπιθρώισκουσαν ὀμίχλην·
ἠρέμα δὲ θλίβων ῥοδοειδέα δάκτυλα κούρης
βυσσόθεν ἐστενάχιζεν ἀθέσφατον· ἡ δὲ σιωπῆι,
οἷά τε χωομένη, ῥοδέην ἐξέσπασε χεῖρα.
ὡς δ᾿ ἐρατῆς ἐνόησε χαλίφρονα νεύματα κούρης,
θαρσαλέηι παλάμηι πολυδαίδαλον εἷλκε χιτῶνα
ἔσχατα τιμήεντος ἄγων ἐπὶ κεύθεα νηοῦ.

88 πυριπνεύστοισι m 95 κάλλος] ἕλκος m 97 κραδίην Francius: -ίηι m: -ίη m 99 θαρσαλέος West 118 θαρσαλέως m

ὀκναλέοις δὲ πόδεσσιν ἐφέσπετο παρθένος Ἡρώ
οἷά περ οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, τόσην δ᾽ ἀνενείκατο φωνήν
θηλυτέροις ἐπέεσσιν ἀπειλείουσα Λεάνδρωι·
"ξεῖνε, τί μαργαίνεις; τί με, δύσμορε, παρθένον ἕλκεις;
†ἄλλην δεῦρο κέλευθον†, ἐμὸν δ᾽ ἀπόλειπε χιτῶνα.
μῆνιν ἐμῶν ἀλέεινε πολυκτεάνων γενετήρων.
Κύπριδος οὔ σοι ἔοικε θεῆς ἱέρειαν ἀφάσσειν·
παρθενικῆς ἐπὶ λέκτρον ἀμήχανόν ἐστιν ἱκέσθαι."
τοῖα μὲν ἠπείλησεν ἐοικότα παρθενικῆισι.
 θηλείης δὲ Λέανδρος ὅτ᾽ ἔκλυεν οἶστρον ἀπειλῆς,
ἔγνω πειθομένων σημήια παρθενικάων·
καὶ γὰρ ὅτ᾽ ἠιθέοισιν ἀπειλείουσι γυναῖκες,
Κυπριδίων ὀάρων αὐτάγγελοί εἰσιν ἀπειλαί·
παρθενικῆς δ᾽ εὔοδμον ἐύχροον αὐχένα κύσσας,
τοῖον μῦθον ἔειπε, πόθου βεβολημένος οἴστρωι·
"Κύπρι φίλη μετὰ Κύπριν, Ἀθηναίη μετ᾽ Ἀθήνην –
οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχθονίηισιν ἴσην καλέω σε γυναιξίν,
ἀλλά σε θυγατέρεσσι Διὸς Κρονίωνος ἐίσκω –
ὄλβιος, ὅς σε φύτευσε, καὶ ὀλβίη, ἣ τέκε μήτηρ,
γαστήρ, ἥ σε λόχευσε, μακαρτάτη· ἀλλὰ λιτάων
ἡμετέρων ἐπάκουε, πόθου δ᾽ οἴκτειρον ἀνάγκην.
Κύπριδος ὡς ἱέρεια μετέρχεο Κύπριδος ἔργα.
δεῦρ᾽ ἴθι, μυστιπόλευε γαμήλια θεσμὰ θεαίνης·
παρθένον οὐκ ἐπέοικεν ὑποδρήσσειν Κυθερείηι·
παρθενικαῖς οὐ Κύπρις ἰαίνεται· ἣν δ᾽ ἐθελήσηις
θεσμὰ θεῆς ἐρόεντα καὶ ὄργια κεδνὰ δαῆναι,
ἔστι γάμος καὶ λέκτρα. σὺ δ᾽ εἰ φιλέεις Ἀφροδίτην,
θελξινόων ἀγάπαζε μελίφρονα θεσμὸν ἐρώτων,
σὸν δ᾽ ἱκέτην με κόμιζε καί, ἢν ἐθέληις, παρακοίτην,
τόν σοι Ἔρως ἤγρευσεν ἑοῖς βελέεσσι κιχήσας,

121 τόσην Imanuel: τοίην M 124 κέλευσον Köchly: κάλεσσον Patzig 125 ἀλέεινε Heinrich: ἀπόειπε m: ἀπόλειπε m 131 ἀπειλείουσι m: -λείωσι m: -λήσωσι m: -λήσουσι m 143 Κυθερείηι Ludwich (e 146): ἀφροδίτηι m: -την m: -της m 146 Ἀφροδίτην Ludwich (e 143): κυθέρειαν M

ὡς θρασὺν Ἡρακλῆα θοὸς χρυσόρραπις Ἑρμῆς
θητεύειν ἐκόμισσεν Ἰορδανίηι ποτὲ νύμφηι·
σοὶ δέ με Κύπρις ἔπεμψε καὶ οὐ σοφὸς ἤγαγεν Ἑρμῆς.
παρθένος οὔ σε λέληθεν ἀπ᾽ Ἀρκαδίης Ἀταλάντη,
ἥ ποτε Μειλανίωνος ἐρασσαμένου φύγεν εὐνήν
παρθενίης ἀλέγουσα· χολωσαμένης δ᾽ Ἀφροδίτης,
τὸν πάρος οὐκ ἐπόθησεν, ἐνὶ κραδίηι θέτο πάσηι.
πείθεο καὶ σύ, φίλη, μὴ Κύπριδι μῆνιν ἐγείρηις."
ὣς εἰπὼν παρέπεισεν ἀναινομένης φρένα κούρης
θυμὸν ἐρωτοτόκοισι παραπλάγξας ἐνὶ μύθοις.
 παρθενικὴ δ᾽ ἄφθογγος ἐπὶ χθόνα πῆξεν ὀπωπήν
αἰδοῖ ἐρευθιόωσαν ὑποκλέπτουσα παρειήν,
καὶ χθονὸς ἔξεεν ἄκρον ὑπ᾽ ἴχνεσιν, αἰδομένη δέ
πολλάκις ἀμφ᾽ ὤμοισιν ἑὸν συνέεργε χιτῶνα.
πειθοῦς γὰρ τάδε πάντα προάγγελα, παρθενικῆς δέ
πειθομένης ποτὶ λέκτρον ὑπόσχεσίς ἐστι σιωπή.
ἤδη δὲ γλυκύπικρον ἐδέξατο κέντρον ἐρώτων,
θέρμετο δὲ κραδίην γλυκερῶι πυρὶ παρθένος Ἡρώ,
κάλλεϊ δ᾽ ἱμερόεντος ἀνεπτοίητο Λεάνδρου.
ὄφρα μὲν οὖν ποτὶ γαῖαν ἔχεν νεύουσαν ὀπωπήν,
τόφρα δὲ καὶ Λείανδρος ἐρωμανέεσσι προσώποις
οὐ κάμεν εἰσορόων ἁπαλόχροον αὐχένα κούρης.
ὀψὲ δὲ Λειάνδρωι γλυκερὴν ἀνενείκατο φωνήν,
αἰδοῦς ὑγρὸν ἔρευθος ἀποστάζουσα προσώπου·
"ξεῖνε, τεοῖς ἐπέεσσι τάχ᾽ ἂν καὶ πέτρον ὀρίναις.
τίς σε πολυπλανέων ἐπέων ἐδίδαξε κελεύθους;
ὤμοι, τίς σε κόμισσεν ἐμὴν εἰς πατρίδα γαῖαν;
ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μάτην ἐφθέγξαο· πῶς γὰρ ἀλήτης,
ξεῖνος ἐὼν καὶ ἄπιστος, ἐμοὶ φιλότητι μιγείης;
ἀμφαδὸν οὐ δυνάμεσθα γάμοις ὁσίοισι πελάσσαι·

151 ἰορδανίηι m: ἰαρδ- m -ανίην ποτὶ νύμφην m 158 ἀναινομένην m 159 ἕο Köchly 161 ἐρευθιόωσαν Lobeck: ἐρυθι- m: ἐρυθρι- m: ἐρυθρόωσαν m 166 δὲ Köchly: δὲ καὶ m: καὶ m 173 ὑποστάζουσα m 176 ὤμοι Ludwich: οἴμοι M 178 ἐμῆι m

οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς τοκέεσσιν ἐπεύαδεν· ἢν δ᾽ ἐθελήσῃς
ὡς ξεῖνος πολύφοιτος ἐμὴν εἰς πατρίδα μίμνειν,
οὐ δύνασαι σκοτόεσσαν ὑποκλέπτειν Ἀφροδίτην·
γλῶσσα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων φιλοκέρτομος, ἐν δὲ σιωπῆι
ἔργον ὅ περ τελέει τις, ἐνὶ τριόδοισιν ἀκούει.
εἰπὲ δέ, μὴ κρύψῃς, τεὸν οὔνομα καὶ σέο πάτρην·
οὐ γὰρ ἐμόν σε λέληθεν, ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ὄνομα κλυτὸν Ἡρώ·
πύργος δ᾽ ἀμφιβόητος ἐμὸς δόμος οὐρανομήκης,
ὧι ἔνι ναιετάουσα σὺν ἀμφιπόλωι τινὶ μούνηι
Σηστιάδος πρὸ πόληος ὑπὲρ βαθυκύμονας ὄχθας
γείτονα πόντον ἔχω στυγεραῖς βουλῆισι τοκήων.
οὐδέ μοι ἐγγὺς ἔασιν ὁμήλικες, οὐδὲ χορεῖαι
ἠιθέων παρέασιν· ἀεὶ δ᾽ ἀνὰ νύκτα καὶ ἠῶ
ἐξ ἁλὸς ἠνεμόφωνος ἐπιβρέμει οὔασιν ἠχή.''
ὣς φαμένη ῥοδέην ὑπὸ φάρεϊ κρύπτε παρειήν
ἔμπαλιν αἰδομένη, σφετέροις δ᾽ ἐπεμέμφετο μύθοις.
Λείανδρος δὲ πόθου βεβολημένος ὀξέι κέντρωι
φράζετο πῶς κεν ἔρωτος ἀεθλεύσειεν ἀγῶνα.
ἄνδρα γὰρ αἰολόμητις Ἔρως βελέεσσι δαμάσσας
καὶ πάλιν ἀνέρος ἕλκος ἀκέσσεται· οἷσι δ᾽ ἀνάσσει
αὐτὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ βουληφόρος ἐστὶ βροτοῖσιν·
αὐτὸς καὶ ποθέοντι τότε χραίσμησε Λεάνδρωι.
ὀψὲ δ᾽ ἀλαστήσας πολυμήχανον ἔννεπε μῦθον·
''παρθένε, σὸν δι᾽ ἔρωτα καὶ ἄγριον οἶδμα περήσω
εἰ πυρὶ παφλάζοιτο καὶ ἄπλοον ἔσσεται ὕδωρ·
οὐ τρομέω βαρὺ χεῖμα τεὴν μετανεύμενος εὐνήν,
οὐ βρόμον ἠχήεντα περιπτώσσοιμι θαλάσσης,
ἀλλ᾽ αἰεὶ κατὰ νύκτα φορεύμενος ὑγρὸς ἀκοίτης,
νήξομαι Ἑλλήσποντον ἀγάρροον· οὐχ ἕκαθεν γὰρ
ἀντία σεῖο πόληος ἔχω πτολίεθρον Ἀβύδου.
μοῦνον ἐμοί τινα λύχνον ἀπ᾽ ἠλιβάτου σέο πύργου
ἐκ περάτης ἀνάφαινε κατὰ κνέφας, ὄφρα νοήσας

181 πολύφευκτος m: περίφοιτος Pareus 186 ἐμοὶ] ἔχω m 198 αἰολόμητιν m δαμάζει m 205 βαθὺ m (βαθὺ) χεῦμα D'Arnaud 210 τινα Lennep: ἕνα M

ἔσσομαι ὁλκὰς Ἔρωτος, ἔχων σέθεν ἀστέρα λύχνον,
καί μιν ὀπιπεύων – οὐκ ὀψὲ δύοντα Βοώτην,
οὐ θρασὺν Ὠρίωνα καὶ ἄβροχον ὁλκὸν Ἁμάξης –
πατρίδος ἀντιπόροιο ποτὶ γλυκὺν ὅρμον ἱκοίμην.
ἀλλά, φίλη, πεφύλαξο βαρὺ πνείοντας ἀήτας,
μή μιν ἀποσβέσσωσι – καὶ αὐτίκα θυμὸν ὀλέσσω –
λύχνον, ἐμοῦ βιότοιο φαεσφόρον ἡγεμονῆα.
εἰ ἐτεὸν δ᾽ ἐθέλεις ἐμὸν οὔνομα καὶ σὺ δαῆναι,
οὔνομά μοι Λείανδρος, ἐυστεφάνου πόσις Ἡροῦς.''
ὣς οἱ μὲν κρυφίοισι γάμοις συνέθεντο μιγῆναι,
καὶ νυχίην φιλότητα καὶ ἀγγελίην ὑμεναίων
λύχνου μαρτυρίῃσιν ἐπιστώσαντο φυλάσσειν,
ἡ μὲν φῶς τανύειν, ὁ δὲ κύματα μακρὰ περῆσαι·
παννυχίδας δ᾽ ἀνέσαντες ἀκοιμήτων ὑμεναίων,
ἀλλήλων ἀέκοντες ἐνοσφίσθησαν ἀνάγκηι,
ἡ μὲν ἑὸν ποτὶ πύργον, ὁ δ᾽, ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα
μή τι παραπλάζοιτο, λαβὼν σημήια πύργου
πλῶε βαθυκρήπιδος ἐπ᾽ εὐρέα δῆμον Ἀβύδου.
παννυχίων δ᾽ ὀάρων κρυφίους ποθέοντες ἀέθλους
πολλάκις ἠρήσαντο μολεῖν θαλαμηπόλον ὄρφνην.
ἤδη κυανόπεπλος ἀνέδραμε νυκτὸς ὀμίχλη,
ἀνδράσιν ὕπνον ἄγουσα καὶ οὐ ποθέοντι Λεάνδρωι·
ἀλλὰ πολυφλοίσβοιο παρ᾽ ἠιόνεσσι θαλάσσης
ἀγγελίην ἀνέμιμνε φαεινομένων ὑμεναίων,
μαρτυρίην λύχνοιο πολυκλαύστοιο δοκεύων,
εὐνῆς δὲ κρυφίης τηλεσκόπον ἀγγελιώτην.
ὡς δ᾽ ἴδε κυανέης λιποφεγγέα νυκτὸς ὀμίχλην,
Ἡρὼ λύχνον ἔφαινεν· ἀναπτομένοιο δὲ λύχνου
θυμὸν Ἔρως ἔφλεξεν ἐπειγομένοιο Λεάνδρου·

213 ὀψὲ δύοντα Canter: ὄψομαι δύντα M 215 Κύπριδος Dilthey 219 εἰ δ᾽ ἐτεόν γ᾽ Wakefield 224 φῶς Barth: φάος M 225 ἀνύσαντες m: ἀναθέντες Rohde: ὀμόσαντες Schwabe: ὁρίσαντες Ludwich 228 locus conclamatus μηδὲ uel μηδε m λαβὼν anon., Bergler: βαλὼν M πύργωι m 235 φαεινομένην Nodell 236 πολυκλαύτοιο m: πολυλλίστοιο Dilthey: πύργοιο πολυκλύστοιο Hermann

λύχνωι καιομένωι συνεκαίετο· πὰρ δὲ θαλάσσηι
μαινομένων ῥοθίων πολυηχέα βόμβον ἀκούων
ἔτρεμε μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ θάρσος ἀείρας
τοίοισι προσέλεκτο παρηγορέων φρένα μύθοις·
"δεινὸς Ἔρως, καὶ πόντος ἀμείλιχος· ἀλλὰ θαλάσσης
ἐστὶν ὕδωρ, τὸ δ' Ἔρωτος ἐμὲ φλέγει ἐνδόμυχον πῦρ.
ἅζεο πῦρ, κραδίη, μὴ δείδιθι νήχυτον ὕδωρ.
δεῦρό μοι εἰς φιλότητα· τί δὴ ῥοθίων ἀλεγίζεις;
ἀγνώσσεις ὅτι Κύπρις ἀπόσπορός ἐστι θαλάσσης
καὶ κρατέει πόντοιο καὶ ἡμετέρων ὀδυνάων;"
ὣς εἰπὼν μελέων ἐρατῶν ἀπεδύσατο πέπλα
ἀμφοτέραις παλάμηισιν, ἑῶι δ' ἔσφιγξε καρήνωι,
ἠιόνος δ' ἐξῶρτο, δέμας δ' ἔρριψε θαλάσσηι.
λαμπομένου δ' ἔσπευδεν ἀεὶ κατεναντία λύχνου,
αὐτὸς ἐὼν ἐρέτης, αὐτὸς στόλος, αὐτόματος νηῦς.
  Ἡρὼ δ' ἠλιβάτοιο φαεσφόρος ὑψόθι πύργου,
λεπταλέαις αὔρησιν ὅθεν πνεύσειεν ἀήτης,
φάρεϊ πολλάκι λύχνον ἐπέσκεπεν, εἰσόκε Σηστοῦ
πολλὰ καμὼν Λείανδρος ἔβη ποτὶ ναύλοχον ἀκτήν.
καί μιν ἑὸν ποτὶ πύργον ἀνήγαγεν· ἐκ δὲ θυράων
νυμφίον ἀσθμαίνοντα περιπτύξασα σιωπῆι
ἀφροκόμους ῥαθάμιγγας ἔτι στάζοντα θαλάσσης
ἤγαγε νυμφοκόμοιο μυχοὺς ἔπι παρθενεῶνος,
καὶ χρόα πάντα κάθηρε, δέμας δ' ἔχρισεν ἐλαίωι
εὐόδμωι ῥοδέωι, καὶ ἁλίπνοον ἔσβεσεν ὀδμήν.
εἰσέτι δ' ἀσθμαίνοντα βαθυστρώτοις ἐνὶ λέκτροις
νυμφίον ἀμφιχυθεῖσα, φιλήνορας ἴαχε μύθους·
"νυμφίε, πολλὰ μόγησας, ἃ μὴ πάθε νυμφίος ἄλλος·
νυμφίε, πολλὰ μόγησας· ἅλις νύ τοι ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ
ὀδμή τ' ἰχθυόεσσα βαρυγδούποιο θαλάσσης·

244 τοίοισιν Hilberg: τοίοις ἦν Gelzer 246 ἐστὶν uel ἐστιν uel ἔστιν M: ἐκτὸς Du Rondel: ψυχρὸν Mader 247 ἅζεο Graefe: λάζεο M 255 αὐτὸς στόλος Keydell: αὐτόστολος M αὐτομάτη Dilthey 264 ἔχρισεν Pareus: ἔχριεν M 270 δ' m

δεῦρο, τεοὺς ἱδρῶτας ἐμοῖς ἐνικάτθεο κόλποις."
ὣς ἡ μὲν τάδ' ἔειπεν· ὁ δ' αὐτίκα λύσατο μίτρην
καὶ θεσμῶν ἐπέβησαν ἀριστονόου Κυθερείης.
ἦν γάμος, ἀλλ' ἀχόρευτος· ἔην λέχος, ἀλλ' ἄτερ ὕμνων·
οὐ ζυγίην Ἥρην τις ἐπευφήμησεν ἀείδων,
οὐ δαΐδων ἤστραπτε σέλας θαλαμηπόλον εὐνῆι,
οὐδὲ πολυσκάρθμωι τις ἐπεσκίρτησε χορείηι,
οὐχ ὑμέναιον ἄειδε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ·
ἀλλὰ λέχος στορέσασα τελεσσιγάμοισιν ἐν ὥραις
Σιγὴ παστὸν ἔπηξεν, ἐνυμφοκόμησε δ' Ὀμίχλη,
καὶ γάμος ἦν ἀπάνευθεν ἀειδομένων ὑμεναίων.
Νὺξ μὲν ἔην κείνοισι γαμοστόλος, οὐδέ ποτ' Ἠὼς
νυμφίον εἶδε Λέανδρον ἀριγνώτοις ἐνὶ λέκτροις·
νήχετο δ' ἀντιπόροιο πάλιν ποτὶ δῆμον Ἀβύδου
ἐννυχίων ἀκόρητος ἔτι πνείων ὑμεναίων.
Ἡρὼ δ' ἑλκεσίπεπλος ἑοὺς λήθουσα τοκῆας,

. . .

παρθένος ἠματίη, νυχίη γυνή. ἀμφότεροι δέ
πολλάκις ἠρήσαντο κατελθέμεν εἰς δύσιν Ἠῶ.
  ὣς οἱ μὲν φιλότητος ὑποκλέπτοντες ἀνάγκην
κρυπταδίηι τέρποντο μετ' ἀλλήλων Κυθερείηι.
ἀλλ' ὀλίγον ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δηρόν
ἀγρύπνων ἀπόναντο πολυπλάγκτων ὑμεναίων.
ἀλλ' ὅτε ⟨. . . . . . .
δὴ τότε⟩ παχνήεντος ἐπήλυθε χείματος ὥρη
φρικαλέας δονέουσα πολυστροφάλιγγας ἀέλλας,
βένθεα δ' ἀστήρικτα καὶ ὑγρὰ θέμεθλα θαλάσσης
χειμέριοι πνείοντες ἀεὶ στυφέλιζον ἀῆται
λαίλαπι μαστίζοντες ὅλην ἅλα, τυπτομένης δέ

271 περικάτθεο m 272 τάδ' ἔειπεν Wernicke: τάδε εἶπεν m: ταῦτ' εἶπεν m: προσέειπεν Schwabe 273 ἀριστοπόνου Sittig, Ludwich 275 Ἥρην anon.: ἱερὴν m: ἱρὴν m: ἱδρὴν m 276 εὐνῆι Graefe: -νὴ m: -νὴν m 278 ἄεισε m 286 post h. u. lac. pos. Graefe 288 καθελκέμεν m: μεθελκέμεν m 293 ἀλλ' ὅτε ⟨. . . δὴ τότε⟩ Dilthey: ἀλλ' ὅτε παχνήεντος M 297 τυπτομένη m: -νην D' Orville

ἤδη νῆα μέλαιναν ἐφείλκυσε διψάδι χέρσωι
χειμερίην καὶ ἄπιστον ἀλυσκάζων ἅλα ναύτης.
ἀλλ᾽ οὐ χειμερίης σε φόβος κατέρυκε θαλάσσης,
καρτερόθυμε Λέανδρε· διακτορίη δέ σε πύργου
ἠθάδα σημαίνουσα φαεσφορίην ὑμεναίων
μαινομένης ὤτρυνεν ἀφειδήσαντα θαλάσσης,
νηλειὴς καὶ ἄπιστος. ὄφελλε δὲ δύσμορος Ἡρώ
χείματος ἱσταμένοιο μένειν ἀπάνευθε Λεάνδρου
μηκέτ᾽ ἀναπτομένη μινυώριον ἀστέρα λέκτρων.
ἀλλὰ πόθος καὶ μοῖρα βιήσατο· θελγομένη δέ
Μοιράων ἀνέφαινε καὶ οὐκέτι δαλὸν Ἐρώτων.
νὺξ ἦν, εὖτε μάλιστα βαρὺ πνείοντες ἀῆται
χειμερίαις πνοιῆισιν ἀκοντίζοντες ἀέλλας
ἀθρόον ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης·
δὴ τότε δὴ Λείανδρος ἐθήμονος ἐλπίδι νύμφης
δυσκελάδων πεφόρητο θαλασσαίων ἐπὶ νώτων.
ἤδη κύματι κῦμα κυλίνδετο, σύγχυτο δ᾽ ὕδωρ·
αἰθέρι μίσγετο πόντος· ἀνέγρετο πάντοθεν ἠχή
μαρναμένων ἀνέμων· Ζεφύρωι δ᾽ ἀντέπνεεν Εὖρος,
καὶ Νότος ἐς Βορέην μεγάλας ἐφέηκεν ἀπειλάς·
καὶ κτύπος ἦν ἀλίαστος ἐρισμαράγοιο θαλάσσης.
αἰνοπαθὴς δὲ Λέανδρος ἀκηλήτοις ἐνὶ δίναις
πολλάκι μὲν λιτάνευε θαλασσαίην Ἀφροδίτην,
πολλάκι δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄνακτα Ποσειδάωνα θαλάσσης

. . .

Ἀτθίδος οὐ Βορέην ἀμνήμονα κάλλιπε νύμφης·
ἀλλά οἱ οὔ τις ἄρηγεν, Ἔρως δ᾽ οὐκ ἤρκεσε Μοίρας,
πάντοθι δ᾽ ἀγρομένοιο δυσάντεϊ κύματος ὁρμῆι
τυπτόμενος πεφόρητο, ποδῶν δέ οἱ ὤκλασεν ὁρμή,

298 ἐφείλκυσε D'Arnaud (-έλκ-), Brunck: ἀπ- uel ἐπέκλυσε m: ἀπ- uel ἐπέκλασε m: ἀνείλκυσε Lennep (-έλκ-), D'Orville, Gail   διψάδι Mazzarella-Farao: διχθάδι M   310 ἀέλλας m, Dilthey: ἀήτας m: ἰωάς m   312 δὴ τότε δὴ Λείανδρος West: δὴ τότε Λ. m: δὴ τότε καὶ Λ. m: δὴ τότε Λ. περ m   321 post h. u. lac. pos. Schwabe   325 ὁλκῶι Ludwich

καὶ σθένος ἦν ἀνόνητον ἀκοιμήτων παλαμάων.
πολλὴ δ᾽ αὐτομάτη χύσις ὕδατος ἔρρεε λαιμῶι,
καὶ ποτὸν ἀχρήιστον ἀμαιμακέτου πίεν ἅλμης·
καὶ δὴ λύχνον ἄπιστον ἀπέσβεσε πικρὸς ἀήτης
καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἔρωτα πολυτλήτοιο Λεάνδρου.

. . .

νείκεσε δ᾽ ἀγριόθυμον ἐπεσβολίηισιν ἀήτην·
ἤδη γὰρ φθιμένοιο μόρον θέσπισσε Λεάνδρου
εἰσέτι δηθύνοντος· ἐπ᾽ ἀγρύπνοισι δ᾽ ὀπωπαῖς
ἵστατο κυμαίνουσα πολυκλαύστοισι μερίμναις.
ἤλυθε δ᾽ Ἠριγένεια, καὶ οὐκ ἴδε νυμφίον Ἡρώ·
πάντοθι δ᾽ ὄμμα τίταινεν ἐπ᾽ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης,
εἴ που ἐσαθρήσειεν ἀλωόμενον παρακοίτην
λύχνου σβεννυμένοιο. παρὰ κρηπῖδα δὲ πύργου
δρυπτόμενον σπιλάδεσσιν ὅτ᾽ ἔδρακε νεκρὸν ἀκοίτην,
δαιδαλέον ῥήξασα περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα,
ῥοιζηδὸν προκάρηνος ἀπ᾽ ἠλιβάτου πέσε πύργου
καὶ διερῶι τέθνηκε σὺν ὀλλυμένωι παρακοίτηι·
ἀλλήλων δ᾽ ἀπόναντο καὶ ἐν πυμάτωι περ ὀλέθρωι.

VII

OPPIAN

THE NAUTILUS (*Halieutica* 1.338–59)

Ἔστι δέ τις γλαφυρῶι κεκαλυμμένος ὀστράκωι ἰχθύς,
μορφὴν πουλυπόδεσσιν ἀλίγκιος, ὃν καλέουσι
ναυτίλον, οἰκείηισιν ἐπικλέα ναυτιλίηισι.
ναίει μὲν ψαμάθοις, ἀνὰ δ᾽ ἔρχεται ἄκρον ἐς ὕδωρ
πρηνής, ὄφρα κε μή μιν ἐνιπλήσειε θάλασσα·

326 ἀνόνητον Graefe: ἀδόν- m: ἀδύνατον m   ἀκινήτων m   330 post h. u. lac. pos. Köchly: huc 335–6 transp. Gelzer: huc 335–7 transp. West, 331 post 334 reiecto   333 ἐπ᾽ ἀγρύπνοισι δ᾽ Dilthey: -οισιν uel -αισιν M   336 ἐς m   342 καὶ διερῶι Scheindler: κὰδ᾽ δ᾽ Ἡρὼ fere m: καὶ δ᾽ Ἡρὼ fere m: καὶ διερὴ Ludwich

ἀλλ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἀναπλώσηι ῥοθίων ὕπερ Ἀμφιτρίτης,
αἶψα μεταστρεφθεὶς ναυτίλλεται, ὥστ᾽ ἀκάτοιο
ἴδρις ἀνήρ· δοιοὺς μὲν ἄνω πόδας ὥστε κάλωας
ἀντανύει, μέσσος δὲ διαρρέει ἠύτε λαῖφος
λεπτὸς ὑμήν, ἀνέμωι δὲ τιταίνεται· αὐτὰρ ἔνερθε
δοιοὶ ἁλὸς ψαύοντες, ἐοικότες οἰήκεσσι,
πόμπιμοι ἰθύνουσι δόμον καὶ νῆα καὶ ἰχθύν.
ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε ταρβήσηι σχεδόθεν κακόν, οὐκέτ᾽ ἀήταις
φεύγει ἐπιτρέψας, σὺν δ᾽ ἔσπασε πάντα χαλινά,
ἱστία τ᾽ οἴηκάς τε, τὸ δ᾽ ἀθρόον ἔνδον ἔδεκτο
κῦμα, βαρυνόμενος δε καθέλκεται ὕδατος ὁρμῆι.
ὢ πόποι, ὃς πρώτιστος ὄχους ἁλὸς εὕρατο νῆας,
εἴτ᾽ οὖν ἀθανάτων τις ἐπεφράσατ᾽ εἴτε τις ἀνήρ
τολμήεις πρώτιστος ἐπεύξατο κῦμα περῆσαι,
ἦ που κεῖνον ἰδὼν πλόον ἰχθύος εἴκελον ἔργον
δουροπαγὲς τόρνωσε, τὰ μὲν πνοιῆισι πετάσσας
ἐκ προτόνων, τὰ δ᾽ ὄπισθε χαλινωτήρια νηῶν.

VIII

SPRINGTIME (*Halieutica* 1.446–508)

Χείματι μὲν δὴ πάντες ἀελλάων στροφάλιγγας
σμερδαλέας αὐτοῦ τε δυσηχέος οἴδματα πόντου
ἔξοχα δειμαίνουσιν· ἐπεὶ περιώσιον ἄλλων
ἰχθυόεντα γένεθλα φίλην πέφρικε θάλασσαν
μαινομένην· τότε δ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἀμησάμενοι πτερύγεσσι
ψάμμον ὑποπτήσσουσιν ἀνάλκιδες· οἱ δ᾽ ὑπὸ πέτραις
εἰλόμενοι δύνουσιν ἀολλέες· οἱ δὲ βάθιστα
ἐς πελάγη φεύγουσι κάτω μυχάτην ὑπὸ βύσσαν·
κεῖνα γὰρ οὔτε λίην προκυλίνδεται οὔθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀήταις
πρυμνόθεν εἰλεῖται, διὰ δ᾽ ἔσσυται οὔτις ἄελλα
ῥίζαν ἁλὸς νεάτην· μέγα δέ σφισι βένθος ἐρύκει

VII 349 πόμπιμοι K. Lehrs: πομποὶ m: πομποί τ᾽ m   359 νωμῶν de Pauw

ῥιγεδανὰς ὀδύνας καὶ ἀπηνέα χείματος ὁρμήν.
ἀλλ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἀνθεμόεσσαι ἐπὶ χθονὸς εἴαρος ὧραι
πορφύρεον γελάσωσιν, ἀναπνεύσηι δὲ θάλασσα
χείματος εὐδιόωσα γαληναίη τε γένηται
ἤπια κυμαίνουσα, τότ᾽ ἰχθύες ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι
πανσυδίηι φοιτῶσι γεγηθότες ἐγγύθι γαίης.
ὡς δὲ πολυρραίσταο νέφος πολέμοιο φυγοῦσα
ὀλβίη ἀθανάτοισι φίλη πόλις, ἥν ῥά τε δηρόν
δυσμενέων πάγχαλκος ἐπεπλήμμυρε θύελλα,
ὀψὲ δ᾽ ἀπολλήξασα καὶ ἀμπνεύσασα μόθοιο
ἀσπασίως γάνυταί τε καὶ εἰρήνης καμάτοισι
τέρπεται ἁρπαλέοισι καὶ εὔδιος εἰλαπινάζει,
ἀνδρῶν τε πλήθουσα χοροιτυπίης τε γυναικῶν·
ὣς οἱ λευγαλέους τε πόνους καὶ φρῖκα θαλάσσης
ἀσπασίως προφυγόντες, ὑπεὶρ ἅλα καγχαλόωντες,
θρώισκοντες θύνουσι χοροιτυπέουσιν ὁμοῖοι.
εἴαρι δὲ γλυκὺς οἶστρος ἀναγκαίης Ἀφροδίτης
καὶ γάμοι ἡβώωσι καὶ ἀλλήλων φιλότητες
πᾶσιν, ὅσοι γαῖάν τε φερέσβιον οἵ τ᾽ ἀνὰ κόλπους
ἠέρος οἵ τ᾽ ἀνὰ πόντον ἐριβρύχην δονέονται.
εἴαρι δὲ πλεῖστον νεπόδων γένος Εἰλείθυιαι
ὠοφόρων παύουσι βαρυνομένων ὠδίνων.
αἱ μὲν γὰρ γενεῆς κεχρημέναι ἠδὲ τόκοιο
θήλεες ἐν ψαμάθοισιν ἀποθλίβουσιν ἀραιάς
γαστέρας· οὐ γὰρ ῥεῖα διίσταται, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνέχονται
ὠὰ μετ᾽ ἀλλήλοισιν ἀρηρότα νηδύος εἴσω,
φύρδην συμπεφυῶτα – τὰ δ᾽ ἀθρόα πῶς κε τέκοιεν; –
στεινόμεναι δ᾽ ὀδύνηισι μόγις κρίνουσι γενέθλην.
ὡς οὐ ῥηϊδίην γενεὴν οὐδ᾽ ἰχθύσι Μοῖραι
ὤπασαν, οὐδ᾽ ἄρα μοῦνον ἐπιχθονίηισι γυναιξίν
ἄλγεα, πάντηι δ᾽ εἰσὶν ἐπαχθέες Εἰλείθυιαι.
ἄρσενες αὖτ᾽ ἄλλοι μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἰχθύσι κῆρας ἄγοντες

VIII 472 χοροιτυπέουσιν D'Arnaud: -τυπίηισιν M   476 δονέονται Guyet: δινM   479 αἱ . . . κεχρημέναι ἠδὲ Guyet: οἱ . . . -μένοι αἱ δὲ M

δαιτυμόνες ῥηγμῖσιν ἐπειγόμενοι πελάουσιν·
ἄλλοι δ᾽ αὖ μετόπισθε διωκόμενοι προθέουσι
θηλυτέραις ἀγέλῃσιν, ἐπεὶ φιλότητος ἔρωτι
ἑλκόμεναι σπεύδουσι μετ᾽ ἄρσενας ἀσχέτωι ὁρμῆι.
ἔνθ᾽ οἱ μὲν σφετέρας ἐπὶ γαστέρας ἀλλήλοισι
τριβόμενοι θορὸν ὑγρὸν ἀπορραίνουσιν ὄπισθεν,
αἱ δ᾽ οἴστρωι μεμαυῖαι ἐπαΐγδην στομάτεσσι
κάπτουσιν· τοίωι δὲ γάμωι πλήθουσι γόνοιο.
πλεῖστος μὲν νόμος οὗτος ἐν ἰχθύσιν· οἱ δὲ καὶ εὐνάς
καὶ θαλάμους ἀλόχους τε διακριδὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι
ζευξάμενοι· πολλὴ γὰρ ἐν ἰχθύσιν ἔστ᾽ Ἀφροδίτη
Οἶστρός τε Ζῆλός τε, βαρὺς θεός, ὅσσα τε τίκτει
θερμὸς Ἔρως, ὅτε λάβρον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κῶμον ὀρίνει.
πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἀλλήλοισι διασταδὸν εἵνεκεν εὐνῆς
μάρνανται, μνηστῆρσιν ἐοικότες, οἳ περὶ νύμφην
πολλοὶ ἀγειρόμενοι καὶ ὁμοίιοι ἀντιφέρονται
ὄλβωι τ᾽ ἀγλαΐηι τε· τὰ δ᾽ ἰχθύσιν οὐ παρέασιν,
ἀλλ᾽ ἀλκὴ γένυές τε καὶ ἔνδοθι κάρχαρον ἕρκος,
τοῖσιν ἀεθλεύουσι καὶ ἐς γάμον ὁπλίζονται·
τοῖσι δ᾽ ὅ κεν προβάληται, ὁμοῦ γάμον εὕρατο νίκηι.

IX

THE CRAYFISH AND THE OCTOPUS (*Halieutica* 2.389–418)

Κάραβον αὖ καὶ τρηχὺν ὁμῶς καὶ κραιπνὸν ἐόντα
δαίνυτ᾽ ἀφαυρότερός περ ἐὼν καὶ νωθρὸς ἐρωὴν
πούλυπος· ἠνίκα γάρ μιν ὑπὸ σπιλάδεσσι νοήσηι
αὔτως ἀτρεμέοντα καὶ ἥμενον, αὐτὰρ ὁ λάθρηι
νῶτον ἐπαΐξας περιβάλλεται αἰόλα δεσμά,
ἰφθίμων δολιχῆισι ποδῶν σειρῆισι πιέζων,

496 κάπτουσιν Koen: λά- M   501 ἐγείρει m   508 γάμον Köchly: -ου m: -ωι m   ἤιρατο m   νίκηι Köchly: -ην M

IX 392 καθήμενον Köchly

σὺν δέ οἱ ἀκραίηις κοτυληδόσι θερμὸν ἐρείδει
αὐλὸν ἐπισφίγγων στόματος μέσον, οὐδ᾽ ἀνίησι
πνοιὴν ἠερίην οὔτ᾽ ἔνδοθεν οὔθ᾽ ἑτέρωθεν –
καὶ γὰρ καὶ νεπόδεσσι παλίρροος ἕλκεται ἀήρ –
ἀλλ᾽ ἔχει ἀμφιπεσών· ὁ δὲ νήχεται, ἄλλοτε μίμνει,
ἄλλοτε δ᾽ ἀσπαίρει, ποτὲ δὲ προβλῆσιν ὑπ᾽ ἄκραις
ῥήγνυται· αὐτὰρ ὅ γ᾽ οὔτι βίης μεθίησιν ἄεθλον,
ὄφρα ἑ τεθνηῶτα λίπηι ψυχή τε καὶ ἀλκή.
δὴ τότε μιν προπεσόντα παρήμενος ἐν ψαμάθοισι
δαίνυται, ἠύτε κοῦρος ὑπὲκ μαζοῖο τιθήνης
χείλεσιν αὐερύει λαρὸν γλάγος· ὣς ὅ γε σάρκας
λάπτων ὀξυπόροιο κατέσπασεν ἄγγεος ἔξω
μυζήσας, γλυκερῆς δὲ βορῆς ἐμπλήσατο νηδύν.
ὡς δέ τις ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνὴρ ληίστορι τέχνηι
ὁρμαίνων ἀίδηλα, δίκης σέβας οὔποτ᾽ ἀέξων,
ἑσπέριος στεινῆισι καταπτήξας ἐν ἀγυιαῖς,
ἄνδρα παραστείχοντα μετ᾽ εἰλαπίνην ἐλόχησε·
καί ῥ᾽ ὁ μὲν οἰνοβαρὴς ἕρπει πάρος, ὑγρὸν ἀείδων,
οὐ μάλα νηφάλιον κλάζων μέλος· αὐτὰρ ὁ λάθρηι
ἐξόπιθε προὔτυψε καὶ αὐχένα χερσὶ δαφοιναῖς
εἷλεν ἐπιβρίσας, κλῖνέν τέ μιν ἄγριον ὕπνον
οὐ τηλοῦ θανάτοιο καὶ εἵματα πάντ᾽ ἐναρίξας
ὤιχετο, δυσκερδῆ τε φέρων καὶ ἀνέστιον ἄγρην·
τοιάδε καὶ πινυτοῖσι νοήματα πουλυπόδεσσιν.

X

HOW TO CATCH THE GREY MULLET (*Halieutica* 3.482–527)

Ναὶ μὴν καὶ κεστρῆα, καὶ οὐ λίχνον περ ἐόντα,
ἤπαφον, ἀγκίστροισι περὶ στεινοῖσιν ἕσαντες
εἶδαρ ὁμοῦ Δήμητρι μεμιγμένον ἠδὲ γάλακτος
πηκτοῖσιν δώροισιν· ἐφυρήσαντο δὲ ποίην

400 -ησιν ἐπ᾽ m   402 ἑ] κε Köchly   ψυχή] πνοιή m   405 λιαρὸν m
406 ὀχθηροῖο m: ὀξυτέροιο uel -τόροιο West

τοῖσιν ὁμοῦ μίνθην εὐώδεα, τήν ποτε κούρην
φασὶν ὑπουδαίην ἔμεναι, Κωκυτίδα Νύμφην·
κλίνατο δ' εἰς εὐνὴν Ἀιδωνέος· ἀλλ' ὅτε κούρην
μουνογόνην ἥρπαξεν ἀπ' Αἰτναίοιο πάγοιο,
δὴ τότε μιν κλάζουσαν ὑπερφιάλοις ἐπέεσσι,
ζήλωι μαργαίνουσαν ἀτάσθαλα, μηνίσασα
Δημήτηρ ἀμάθυνεν ἐπεμβαίνουσα πεδίλοις·
φῆ γὰρ ἀγαυοτέρη τε φυὴν καὶ κάλλος ἀμείνων
Περσεφόνης ἔμεναι κυανώπιδος, ἐς δέ μιν αὐτήν
εὔξατο νοστήσειν Ἀιδωνέα, τὴν δὲ μελάθρων
ἐξελάσειν· τοίη οἱ ἐπὶ γλώσσης πέλεν ἄτη.
ποίη δ' οὐτιδανὴ καὶ ἐπώνυμος ἔκθορε γαίης·
τὴν ἐνιφυρήσαντες ἐπ' ἀγκίστροισι βάλοντο.
κεστρεὺς δ' οὐ μετὰ δηρόν, ἐπεί ῥά μιν ἵξεν ἀυτμή,
ἀντιάσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀποσταδὸν ἀγκίστροιο
λοξὸν ὑπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁράαι δόλον, εἴκελος ἀνδρί
ξείνωι, ὅς ἐν τριόδοισι πολυτρίπτοισι κυρήσας
ἔστη ἐφορμαίνων, κραδίη τέ οἱ ἄλλοτε λαιήν,
ἄλλοτε δεξιτερὴν ἐπιβάλλεται ἀτραπὸν ἐλθεῖν·
παπταίνει δ' ἑκάτερθε, νόος δέ οἱ ἠύτε κῦμα
εἱλεῖται, μάλα δ' ὀψὲ μιῆς ὠρέξατο βουλῆς·
ὣς ἄρα καὶ κεστρῆϊ παναίολα μερμηρίζει
θυμὸς ὀιομένωι τε δόλον καὶ ἀπήμονα φορβήν·
ὀψὲ δέ μιν νόος ὦρσε καὶ ἤγαγεν ἐγγύθι πότμου·
αὐτίκα δὲ τρέσσας ἀνεχάσσατο· πολλάκι δ' ἤδη
εἷλε φόβος ψαύοντα καὶ ἔμπαλιν ἔτραπεν ὁρμήν.
ὡς δ' ὅτε νηπίαχος κούρη πάις, ἐκτὸς ἐούσης
μητέρος, ἢ βρώμης λελιημένη ἠέ τευ ἄλλου,
ψαῦσαι μὲν τρομέει μητρὸς χόλον, οὐδ' ἀναδῦναι
ἐλδομένη τέτληκεν· ἐφερπύζουσα δὲ λάθρηι
αὖτις ὑποτρέπεται, κραδίηι δέ οἱ ἄλλοτε θάρσος,
ἄλλοτε δ' ἐμπίπτει δεινὸς φόβος· ὄμματα δ' αἰέν
ὀξέα παπταίνοντα ποτὶ προθύροισι τέτανται·
ὣς τότ' ἐπεμβαίνων ἀνελίσσεται ἤπιος ἰχθύς.

X 489 περσεφόνην m 496 θόρεν m 503 δέ m

ἀλλ' ὅτε θαρσήσας πελάσηι σχεδόν, οὐ μάλ' ἑτοίμως
ψαῦσε βορῆς, οὐρῆι δὲ πάρος μάστιξεν ἐγείρων
ἄγκιστρον, μή πού τις ἐνὶ χροϊ θέρμετ' ἀυτμή·
ζωοῦ γὰρ κεστρεῦσιν ἀπώμοτόν ἐστι πάσασθαι.
ἔνθεν ἔπειτ' ἄκροισι διακνίζει στομάτεσσι
δαῖτα περιξύων· ἁλιεὺς δέ μιν αὐτίκα χαλκῶι
πεῖρεν ἀνακρούων, ὥστε θρασὺν ἵππον ἐέργων
ἡνίοχος σκληρῆισιν ἀναγκαίηισι χαλινοῦ,
ἂν δ' ἔρυσε, σπαίροντα δ' ἐπὶ χθονὶ κάββαλεν ἐχθρῆι.

XI

THE SPONGE-DIVERS (*Halieutica* 5.612–74)

Σπογγοτόμων δ' οὔ φημι κακώτερον ἄλλον ἄεθλον
ἔμμεναι, οὐδ' ἄνδρεσσιν ὀιζυρώτερον ἔργον.
οἱ δ' ἤτοι πρῶτον μέν, ὅτ' ἐς πόνον ὁπλίζωνται,
βρώμηι τ' ἠδὲ ποτοῖσιν ἀφαυροτέροισι μέλονται,
ὕπνωι τ' οὐχ ἁλιεῦσιν ἐοικότι μαλθάσσονται.
ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ εὔγηρυν ἐφοπλίζητ' ἐς ἀγῶνα,
μολπῆς εὐφόρμιγγος ἔχων Φοιβήιον εὖχος,
πᾶσα δέ οἱ μέλεται κομιδή, πάντηι δὲ φυλάσσει,
πιαίνων ἐς ἄεθλα λιγυφθόγγου μέλος αὐδῆς,
ὣς οἵ γ' ἐνδυκέως κομιδὴν εὔφρουρον ἔχουσιν,
ὄφρα σφι πνοιή τε μένηι ποτὶ βύσσαν ἰοῦσιν
ἀσκηθής, προτέροιο δ' ἀναψύξωσι πόνοιο.
ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀεθλεύωσι μέγαν πόνον ἐξανύοντες,
εὐχόμενοι μακάρεσσιν ἁλὸς μεδέουσι βαθείης
ἀρῶνται κήτειον ἀλεξῆσαί σφισι πῆμα,
μήτε τιν' ἀντιάσαι λώβην ἁλός· ἢν δ' ἐσίδωνται
κάλλιχθυν, τότε δή σφι νόον μέγα θάρσος ἱκάνει·
οὐ γάρ πω κείνηισι νομαῖς ἔνι κῆτος ἄαπτον,
οὐ δάκος, οὐδέ τι πῆμα θαλάσσιον ἄλλο φαάνθη,
ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καθαροῖσιν ἀπημάντοις τε πόροισι

XI 618 ἔργον m 624 μέσον πόρον m (cf. 631, 672)

τέρπονται· τῶι καί μιν ἐφήμισαν ἱερὸν ἰχθύν.
τῶι δ' ἐπιγηθήσαντες ἐπισπεύδουσι πόνοισι.
πείσματι μηκεδανῶι μεσάτης ὑπὲρ ἰξύος ἀνήρ
ἔζωσται, παλάμηισι δ' ἐν ἀμφοτέρηισιν ἀείρει
τῆι μὲν ἐριβριθῆ μολίβου χύσιν ἀμφιμεμαρπώς,
δεξιτερῆι δ' ἅρπην εὐήκεα χειρὶ τιταίνει·
φρουρεῖ δ' ἐν γενύεσσιν ὑπὸ στόμα λευκὸν ἄλειφαρ·
στὰς δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ πρώρης ἐσκέψατο πόντιον οἶδμα
ὁρμαίνων βριθύν τε πόνον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὕδωρ.
οἱ δέ μιν ὀτρύνουσιν ἐπισπέρχουσί τε μύθοις
θαρσαλέοις ἐπὶ μόχθον, ἅτ' ἐν νύσσηι βεβαῶτα
ἄνδρα ποδωκείης δεδαημένον· ἀλλ' ὅτε θυμῶι
θαρσήσηι, δίναις μὲν ἐνήλατο, τὸν δὲ καθέλκει
ἱέμενον πολιοῦ μολίβου βεβριθότος ὁρμή.
αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἐς βύσσαν προμολὼν ἐξέπτυσ' ἀλοιφήν·
ἡ δὲ μέγα στίλβει τε καὶ ὕδατι μίσγεται αὐγή,
ὄρφνης ἠύτε πυρσὸς ἀνὰ κνέφας ὄμμα φαείνων·
πέτραις δ' ἐμπελάσας σπόγγους ἴδεν· οἱ δὲ φύονται
ἐν νεάτοις πλαταμῶσιν, ἀρηρότες ἐν σπιλάδεσσι·
καί σφισι καὶ πνοιὴν φάτις ἔμμεναι, οἷα καὶ ἄλλοις
ὅσσα πολυρραθάγοισιν ἐνὶ σπιλάδεσσι φύονται.
αἶψα δ' ἐπαΐξας δρεπάνηι τάμε χειρὶ παχείηι
ὥστε τις ἀμητὴρ σπόγγων δέμας, οὐδέ τι μέλλει
δηθύνων, σχοῖνον δὲ θοῶς κίνησεν, ἑταίροις
σημαίνων κραιπνῶς μιν ἀνελκέμεν· αἷμα γὰρ ἐχθρόν
αὐτίκ' ἀπὸ σπόγγων ῥαθαμίζεται, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀνδρί
εἱλεῖται, πνοιῆι δὲ δυσαέι πολλάκι φῶτα
ἔσβεσε μυκτήρεσσιν ἐνισχόμενος βαρὺς ἰχώρ.
τοὔνεκα λαιψηρῶς ἀναδύεται ὥστε νόημα
ἑλκόμενος· τὸν μέν τις ἰδὼν προφυγόντα θαλάσσης
ἄμφω γηθήσειε καὶ οἰκτείρων ἀκάχοιτο·
ὧδε γὰρ ἠπεδανοῖσι παριεμένου μελέεσσι
δείματι καὶ καμάτωι θυμαλγέι γυῖα λέλυνται.

647 οἴδματι m   652 -οισι ποτὶ m

πολλάκι δ' ἐχθίστης τε τυχὼν καὶ ἀπηνέος ἄγρης
ἅλμενος ἐς πόντοιο βαθὺν πόρον οὐκέτ' ἀνέσχε,
δύσμορος, ἀντιάσας δυσδερκέι θηρὶ πελώρωι·
καί ῥ' ὁ μὲν οἷς ἑτάροισιν ἐπισείων θαμὰ δεσμόν
κέκλεται αὐερύειν, τὸ δέ οἱ δέμας ἡμιδάικτον
κητείη τε βίη καὶ ὁμόστολοι ἔσπασαν ἄνδρες,
οἰκτρὸν ἰδεῖν, ἔτι νηὸς ἐφιέμενον καὶ ἑταίρων·
οἱ δὲ θοῶς κεῖνόν τε πόρον καὶ λυγρὸν ἄεθλον
ἀχνύμενοι λείπουσι καὶ ἐς χέρσον κατάγονται
λείψανα δυστήνοιο περικλαίοντες ἑταίρου.

XII

[OPPIAN]

THE LEOPARD (*Cynegetica* 4.230–353)

Πορδάλιας καὶ δῶρα Διωνύσοιο δάμασσαν,
θηροφόνων δολερῶν δολερὴν πόσιν οἰνοχοεύντων,
οὐδὲν ἀλευομένων ζαθέοιο κότον Διονύσου.
πορδάλιες νῦν μὲν θηρῶν γένος, ἀλλὰ πάροιθεν
οὐ θῆρες βλοσυραί, χαροπαὶ δ' ἐπέλοντο γυναῖκες,
οἰνάδες, ὠσχοφόροι, τριετηρίδες, ἀνθοκάρηνοι,
Βάκχου φοιταλιῆος ἐγερσιχόροιο τιθῆναι.
νηπίαχον γὰρ Βάκχον Ἀγηνορὶς ἔτραφεν Ἰνώ,
μαζὸν ὀρεξαμένη πρωτόρρυτον υἱέι Ζηνός·
σὺν δ' ἄρ' ὁμῶς ἀτίτηλε καὶ Αὐτονόη καὶ Ἀγαύη,
ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰν Ἀθάμαντος ἀταρτηροῖσι δόμοισιν,
οὔρεϊ δ' ὃν τότε Μηρὸν ἐπικλήδην καλέεσκον.
Ζηνὸς γὰρ μεγάλην ἄλοχον μέγα δειμαίνουσαι
καὶ Πενθῆα τύραννον Ἐχιονίδην τρομέουσαι
εἰλατίνηι χηλῶι δῖον γένος ἐγκατέθεντο,

666 ῥόον m   672 δεινόν Dawe

XII 244 εἰλατίνηι Brodaeus: -πίνη m: -τρίνη m

νεβρίσι δ᾽ ἀμφεβάλοντο καὶ ἐστέψαντο κορύμβοις
ἐν σπέι, καὶ περὶ παῖδα τὸ μυστικὸν ὠρχήσαντο·
τύμπανα δ᾽ ἐκτύπεον καὶ κύμβαλα χερσὶ κρόταινον,
παιδὸς κλαυθμυρίδων προκαλύμματα· πρῶτα δ᾽ ἔφαινον
ὄργια κευθομένηι περὶ λάρνακι· σὺν δ᾽ ἄρα τῆισιν
Ἀόνιαι λάθρη τελετῶν ἅπτοντο γυναῖκες·
ἐκ δ᾽ ὄρεος πιστῆισιν ἀγερμοσύνην ἑτάρηισιν
ἔντυον ἰθῦσαι Βοιωτίδος ἔκτοθε γαίης·
μέλλε γὰρ ἤδη, μέλλεν ἀνήμερος ἡ πρὶν ἐοῦσα
γαῖα φυτηκομέειν ὑπὸ λυσιπόνωι Διονύσωι.
χηλὸν δ᾽ ἀρρήτην ἱερὸς χορὸς ἀείρασαι
στεψάμεναι νώτοισιν ἐπεστήριξαν ὄνοιο·
Εὐρίπου δ᾽ ἵκανον ἐπ᾽ ἠιόνας, ἔνθα κίχανον
πρέσβυν ὁμοῦ τεκέεσσιν ἁλίπλανον· ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσαι
γριφέας ἐλλίσσοντο βυθοὺς ἀκάτοισι περῆσαι·
αὐτὰρ ὅ γ᾽ αἰδεσθεὶς ἱερὰς ὑπέδεκτο γυναῖκας.
καὶ δή οἱ χλοερὴ μὲν ἐπήνθεε σέλμασι μῖλαξ,
πρύμνην δ᾽ ὡραίη θ᾽ ἕλινος καὶ κισσὸς ἔρεπτον·
καί κεν ὑπὲρ πόντοιο κυβίστεον ἀσπαλιῆες
δείματι δαιμονίωι πεπτηότες, ἀλλὰ πάροιθεν
ἐς γαῖαν δόρυ κέλσε· πρὸς Εὐβοίην δὲ γυναῖκες
ἠδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀρισταίοιο θεὸν κατάγοντο φέρουσαι,
ὅς θ᾽ ὕπατον μὲν ἔναιεν ὄρος κεράεσσιν ὑπ᾽ ἄντρου
μυρία δ᾽ ἄγραυλον βιοτὴν ἐδιδάξατο φωτῶν·
πρῶτος ποιμενίων ἡγήσατο, πρῶτος ἐκεῖνος
καρποὺς ἀγριάδος λιπαρῆς ἔθλιψεν ἐλαίης,
καὶ ταμίσωι πρῶτος γάλα πήξατο, καὶ ποτὶ σίμβλους
ἐκ δρυὸς ἀείρας ἀγανὰς ἐνέκλεισε μελίσσας.

248 κλαυθμυρισμῶν m: -ίμων uel -ιμῶν m: -ιῶν Brunck: κλαυθμυρμῶν Lehrs 251 ἀγερμοσύνην Brodaeus: ἀτερ- M 262 θ᾽ Lehrs (τ᾽): om. M ἕλινος Brodaeus (ἕλ-): σελ- M 267 κεράεσσιν Turnebus: καὶ ῥο(ι)ῆσιν m: καὶ ῥύησιν m: κρυόεντος Brunck: Καρύηισιν ὑπ᾽ ἄντρωι A. W. Mair (ἄντρωι iam Brodaeus) alii alia tentauerunt: ὑπάτου … ὄρευς κεράεσσιν ὑπ᾽ ἄντρωι Schneider: ὑπάτου … ὄρευς ὀροφῆισιν ὑπ᾽ ἄντρου Ludwich 270 ἔθλιψεν Rittershusius: ἔτριψεν M

ὅς τότε καὶ Διόνυσον ἑῶι νεογιλὸν ὑπ᾽ ἄντρωι
Ἰνώης ἔθρεψε δεδεγμένος ἐκ χηλοῖο,
σὺν Δρυάσιν δ᾽ ἀτίτηλε μελισσοκόμοισί τε Νύμφαις
Εὐβοΐσιν τε κόρηισι καὶ Ἀονίηισι γυναιξίν.
ἤδη κουρίζων δ᾽ ἑτέραις μετὰ παισὶν ἄθυρε·
νάρθηκα προταμὼν στυφελὰς οὐτάζετο πέτρας,
αἱ δὲ θεῶι μέθυ λαρὸν ἀνέβλυσαν ὠτειλάων.
ἄλλοτε δ᾽ ἀρνειοὺς αὐτῆις ἐδάιξε δορῆισι
καὶ μελεϊστὶ τάμεν, νέκυας δ᾽ ἔρριψεν ἔραζε·
αὖτις δ᾽ ἄψεα χερσὶν ἐυσταλέως συνέβαλλεν,
οἱ δ᾽ ἄφαρ ἔζωον χλοεροῦ θ᾽ ἅπτοντο νομοῖο.
ἤδη καὶ θιάσοισιν ἐμέμβλετο καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν
γαῖαν ἐκίδνατο δῶρα Θυωναίου Διονύσου.
πάντηι δὲ θνητοῖς ἀρετὴν πωλέσκετο φαίνων·
ὀψὲ δὲ καὶ Θήβης ἐπεβήσατο καὶ πυρίπαιδι
πᾶσαι ὑπηντίασαν Καδμηίδες· αὐτὰρ ὁ μάργος
Πενθεὺς οὐχὶ δετὰς παλάμας ἔδεεν Διονύσου,
καὶ θεὸν αὐτοφόνοισιν ἀπείλεε χερσὶ δαΐξαι,
οὐ Τυρίου Κάδμοιο καταιδόμενος τρίχα λευκήν,
οὐδὲ κυλινδομένην οἷσι πρὸ πόδεσσιν Ἀγαύην·
σύρειν δ᾽ αἰνομόροισιν ἐβώστρεεν οἷς ἑτάροισι,
σύρειν τε κλείειν τε, χορὸν δ᾽ ἐλάασκε γυναικῶν.
οἱ μέν νυν Βρόμιον Πενθηιάδαι φυλακῆες
δεσμοῖσιν δοκέοντο σιδηρείοισιν ἄγεσθαι
ἄλλοι Καδμεῖοί τε· θεοῦ δ᾽ οὐχ ἅπτετο δεσμά·
παχνώθη δὲ κέαρ θιασώτισι, πάντα δ᾽ ἔραζε
ῥῖψαν ἀπὸ κροτάφων στεφανώματα θύσθλα τε χειρῶν·
πάσαις δ᾽ ἐστάλαον Βρομιώτισι δάκρυ παρειαί·
αἶψα δ᾽ ἀνηΰτησαν· "ἰὼ μάκαρ, ὦ Διόνυσε,
ἅπτε σέλας φλογερὸν πατρώιον, ἂν δ᾽ ἐλέλιξον
γαῖαν, ἀταρτηροῦ δ᾽ ὄπασον τίσιν ὦκα τυράννου·
θὲς δὲ παρὰ σκοπιῆισι, πυρίσπορε, Πενθέα ταῦρον,

277 ἑτάροις Brodaeus: ἑτάραις Boudreaux παισὶν Brodaeus: πᾶσιν m: πάσαις m 282 ἐυσταλέως Bodinus: -έων m: -ίων m 287 πυρίπαιδι Schneider: πυρὶ παιδὶ m: περὶ παιδὶ m 300 πάσαις Brodaeus: πᾶσαι M

ταῦρον μὲν Πενθῆα δυσώνυμον, ἄμμε δὲ θῆρας
ὠμοβόρους, ὀλοοῖσι κορυσσομένας ὀνύχεσσιν,
ὄφρα μιν, ὦ Διόνυσε, διὰ στόμα δαιτρεύσωμεν."
ὣς φάσαν εὐχόμεναι· τάχα δ' ἔκλυε Νύσιος ἀρῆς.
Πενθέα μὲν δὴ ταῦρον ἐδείξατο φοίνιον ὄμμα,
αὐχένα τ' ἠιώρησε, κέρας τ' ἀνέτειλε μετώπου·
ταῖσι δὲ γλαυκιόωσαν ἐθήκατο θηρὸς ὀπωπήν,
καὶ γένυας θώρηξε, κατέγραψεν δ' ἐπὶ νώτου
ῥινὸν ὅπως νεβροῖσι, καὶ ἄγρια θήκατο φῦλα.
αἱ δὲ θεοῦ βουλῆισιν ἀμειψάμεναι χρόα καλόν
πορδάλιες Πενθῆα παρὰ σκοπέλοισι δάσαντο.
τοιάδ' ἀείδοιμεν, τοῖα φρεσὶ πιστεύοιμεν·
ὅσσα Κιθαιρῶνος δὲ κατὰ πτύχας ἔργα γυναικῶν,
ἢ μυσαρὰς κείνας, τὰς ἀλλοτρίας Διονύσου,
μητέρας οὐχ ὁσίως ψευδηγορέουσιν ἀοιδοί.

θηροφόνος δέ τις ὧδε πάγην ἑτάροισι σὺν ἄλλοις
θηρσὶ φιλακρήτοισιν ἐμήσατο πορδαλίεσσι.
πίδακα λεξάμενοι Λιβύης ἀνὰ διψάδα γαῖαν,
ἥ τ' ὀλίγη μάλα πολλὸν ἀνυδρότατον κατὰ χῶρον
ἀπροφάτως ἀίδηλον ἀνασταλάει μέλαν ὕδωρ,
οὐδὲ πρόσω χεῖται κελαρύσμασιν, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
βλύζει τε σταδίη τε μένει ψαμάθοισί τε δύνει·
ἔνθεν πορδαλίων γένος ἄγριον εἶσι μετ' ἠῶ
πιόμενον· τοὶ δ' αἶψα κατὰ κνέφας ὁρμηθέντες
ἀγρευτῆρες ἄγουσιν ἐείκοσιν ἀμφιφορῆας
οἴνου νηδυμίοιο, τὸν ἑνδεκάτωι λυκάβαντι
θλῖψέ τις οἰνοπέδηισι φυτηκομίηισι μεμηλώς·
ὕδατι δ' ἐγκέρασαν λαρὸν μέθυ καὶ προλιπόντες
πίδακα πορφυρέην οὐ τηλόθεν εὐνάζονται,
προπροκαλυψάμενοι δέμας ἄλκιμον ἢ σισύρηισιν
ἢ αὐτοῖσι λίνοισιν· ἐπεὶ σκέπας οὔ τι δύνανται
εὑρέμεν οὔτε λίθων οὔτ' ἠυκόμων ἀπὸ δένδρων·
πᾶσα γὰρ ἐκτέταται ψαφαρὴ καὶ ἀδένδρεος αἶα.

310 τ'[2] Schneider: δ' M   330 νηδυμίοιο Schneider: νηδύμοιο m: νηδήμοιο m

τὰς δ' ἄρα σειριόεντος ὑπ' ἠελίοιο τυπείσας
ἀμφότερον δίψη τε φίλη τ' ἐκάλεσσεν ἀυτμή·
πίδακι δ' ἐμπέλασαν Βρομιώτιδι καὶ μέγα χανδόν
λάπτουσιν Διόνυσον, ἐπ' ἀλλήληισι δὲ πᾶσαι
σκιρτεῦσιν μὲν πρῶτα χοροιτυπέουσιν ὁμοῖαι,
εἶτα δέμας βαρύθουσι, πρόσωπατα δ' ἐς χθόνα δῖαν
ἠρέμα νευστάζουσι κάτω· μετέπειτα δὲ πάσας
κῶμα βιησάμενον χαμάδις βάλεν ἄλλυδις ἄλλην.
ὡς δ' ὁπότ' εἰλαπίνηισιν ἀφυσσάμενοι κρητήρων
ἥλικες εἰσέτι παῖδες, ἔτι χνοάοντες ἰούλους,
λαρὸν ἀείδωσι, προκαλιζόμενοι μετὰ δεῖπνον
ἀλλήλους ἑκάτερθεν ἀμοιβαδίοισι κυπέλλοις,
ὀψὲ δ' ἐλώφησαν· τοὺς δ' ἔρριφεν ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλωι
καὶ φρεσὶ καὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐπιβρῖσαν μένος οἴνου·
ὣς κεῖναι μάλα θῆρες ἐπ' ἀλλήληισι χυθεῖσαι
νόσφι πόνου κρατεροῖσιν ὑπ' ἀγρευτῆρσι γένοντο.

XIII

[MANETHO]

ACROBATS AND BUFFOONS (*Apotelesmatica* 4.271–85)

Ἠέλιος δ' ἀκάμας ὅτ' ἂν ἀθρῆι τὸν πυρόεντα
ἀστέρ' Ἐνυαλίοιο, θοαῖς ἀκτῖσι βολαυγῶν,
ζωϊδίων τετράγωνον ἀν' οὐρανόεσσαν ἀταρπόν
ἀμφίκερω Ταύροιο καὶ ἀσθματικοῖο Λέοντος
Κριοῦ τ' εἰαρόεντος ἐπ' ὠδίνεσσι βροτείαις,
ἰσχυρῶν ἔργων τεύχει πονοπαίκτορας ἄνδρας,
ὀχλοχαρεῖς, φιλόμοχθα θεατρομανοῦντας, ἴχνεσσιν

340 μέγα χανδόν Schneider: μεταχανδόν m: μελανύδρωι m (unde μελάνυδρον Guyet): μέλαν ὕδωρ m: στομάτεσσι m: χείλεσσι m 353 κρατεροῖσιν Hermann: -ροῖο M

XIII 274 ἀσθματικοῖο Axt/Rigler: ἀσθμοτόκοιο M: αἰθοτόκοιο Köchly 276 πονοπαίκτορας J. Gronovius: -πέκτορας M

αἰθροβάτας, πηκτοῖσι πετευριστῆρας ἐν ἄκροις,
αἰθέρι καὶ γαίηι μεμετρημένα ἔργα τελοῦντας,
μιμοβίους, χλεύης τ᾽ ἐπιβήτορας, ὑβριγέλωτας,
ἐν ξείνηι γήρως ἐπιβήτορας, ὀθνιοτύμβους,
ὄρνεα γῆς, πόλιος πάσης ἀπόλιστα γένεθλα,
μωρόφρονας, λιτούς, ἀσχήμονας, αἰσχρογέλωτας,
κρατοπλαγεῖς, ἀχίτωνας, ἀεὶ κορυφῆισι φαλακρούς,
ὧν ὁ βίος χλεύηι τέχνην ἀπεμάξαθ᾽ ἑτοίμην.

XIV

[ORPHEUS]

HYMN TO ELEUSINIAN DEMETER (*Orphic Hymn* 40)

Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυώνυμε δαῖμον,
σεμνὴ Δήμητερ, κουροτρόφε, ὀλβιοδῶτι,
πλουτοδότειρα θεά, σταχυοτρόφε, παντοδότειρα,
εἰρήνηι χαίρουσα καὶ ἐργασίαις πολυμόχθοις,
σπερμεία, σωρῖτι, ἀλωαία, χλοόκαρπε,
ἣ ναίεις ἁγνοῖσιν Ἐλευσῖνος γυάλοισιν,
ἱμερόεσσ᾽, ἐρατή, θνητῶν θρέπτειρα προπάντων,
ἡ πρώτη ζεύξασα βοῶν ἀροτῆρα τένοντα
καὶ βίον ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖς πολύολβον ἀνεῖσα,
αὐξιθαλής, Βρομίοιο συνέστιος, ἀγλαότιμος,
λαμπαδόεσσ᾽, ἁγνή, δρεπάνοις χαίρουσα θερείοις·
σὺ χθονία, σὺ δὲ φαινομένη, σὺ δε πᾶσι προσηνής·
εὔτεκνε, παιδοφίλη, σεμνή, κουροτρόφε κούρα,
ἅρμα δρακοντείοισιν ὑποζεύξασα χαλινοῖς
ἐγκυκλίοις δίναις περὶ σὸν θρόνον εὐάζουσα,

278 ἄκροις Köchly: ἔργοις M 282 πόλιος J. Gronovius: -εως M 284 κρατοπλαγεῖς Lobeck: -παγεῖς M: -παλεῖς Köchly 285 χλεύηι Axt/Rigler: -ης M ἑτοίμην Köchly: ὁμοίην M

XIV 1 θεά Van Lennep: θεοῖς M 10 Βρομίοιο O. Schneider: -ίοις M 13 κούρα suspectum

μουνογενής, πολύτεκνε θεά, πολυπότνια θνητοῖς,
ἧς πολλαὶ μορφαί, πολυάνθεμοι, ἱεροθαλεῖς.
ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ᾽, ἁγνή, καρποῖς βρίθουσα θερείοις,
εἰρήνην κατάγουσα καὶ εὐνομίην ἐρατεινήν
καὶ πλοῦτον πολύολβον, ὁμοῦ δ᾽ ὑγίειαν ἄμεμφῆ.

XV

BABRIUS

THE TOWN MOUSE AND THE COUNTRY MOUSE (*Mythiamb* 108)

Μυῶν ὁ μέν τις βίον ἔχων ἀρουραῖον,
ὁ δ᾽ ἐν ταμείοις πλουσίοισι φωλεύων,
ἔθεντο κοινὸν τὸν βίον πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
ὁ δ᾽ οἰκόσιτος πρότερος ἦλθε δειπνήσων
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρούρης ἄρτι χλωρὸν ἀνθούσης·
τρώγων δ᾽ ἀραιὰς καὶ διαβρόχους σίτου
ῥίζας μελαίνηι συμπεφυρμένας βώλωι
"μύρμηκος" εἶπε "ζῆις βίον ταλαιπώρου,
ἐν πυθμέσιν γῆς κρίμνα λεπτὰ βιβρώσκων.
ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ὑπάρχει πολλὰ καὶ περισσεύει·
τὸ κέρας κατοικῶ πρὸς σὲ τῆς Ἀμαλθείης.
εἴ μοι συνέλθοις, ὡς θέλεις ἀσωτεύσηι,
παρεὶς ὀρύσσειν ἀσφάλαξι τὴν χώρην."
ἀπῆγε τὸν μῦν τὸν γεηπόνον πείσας
εἰς οἶκον ἐλθεῖν ὑπό τε τοῖχον ἀνθρώπου,
ἔδειξε δ᾽ αὐτῶι ποῦ μὲν ἀλφίτων πλήθη,
ποῦ δ᾽ ὀσπρίων ἦν σωρὸς ἢ πίθοι σύκων,
στάμνοι τε μέλιτος σώρακοί τε φοινίκων.
ὁ δ᾽ ὡς ἐτέρφθη πᾶσι καὶ παρωρμήθη
καὶ τυρὸν ἦγεν ἐκ κανισκίου σύρων,
ἀνέωιξε τὴν θύρην τις· ὁ δ᾽ ἀποπηδήσας

20 ἀμεμφῆ Maas, cl. *h.* 15.10, 17.10: ἄνασσαν M

XV 1 ἀρουρίτην Eberhard: -ραίων Rutherford 12 συνέλθηις m 16 πλήθη Fix: πλήρη M: πήρη Lachmann

στεινῆς ἔφευγε δειλὸς ἐς μυχὸν τρώγλης,
ἄσημα τρίζων τόν τε πρόξενον θλίβων.
μικρὸν δ᾽ ἐπισχών, εἶτ᾽ ἔσωθεν ἐκκύψας
ψαύειν ἔμελλεν ἰσχάδος Καμειραίης·
ἕτερος δ᾽ ἐπῆλθεν ἄλλο τι προαιρήσων·
οἱ δ᾽ ἔνδον ἐκρύβοντο. μῦς δ᾽ ἀρουρίτης
"τοιαῦτα δειπνῶν" εἶπε "χαῖρε καὶ πλούτει,
καὶ τοῖς περισσοῖς αὐτὸς ἐντρύφα δείπνοις,
ἔχων τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μεστὰ κινδύνων.
ἐγὼ δὲ λιτῆς οὐκ ἀφέξομαι βώλου,
ὑφ᾽ ἣν τὰ κρίμνα μὴ φοβούμενος τρώγω."

XVI

THE OLD LION AND THE FOX (*Mythiamb* 103)

Λέων ἐπ᾽ ἄγρην οὐκέτι σθένων βαίνειν
(πολλῶι γὰρ ἤδη τῶι χρόνωι γεγηράκει)
κοίλης ἔσω σπήλυγγος ὡς νόσωι κάμνων
ἔκειτο, δόλιον οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἀσθμαίνων,
φωνὴν βαρεῖαν προσποιητὰ λεπτύνων.
θηρῶν δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐλὰς ἦλθεν ἄγγελος φήμη,
καὶ πάντες ἤλγουν ὡς λέοντος ἀρρώστου,
ἐπισκοπήσων δ᾽ εἷς ἕκαστος εἰσῄει.
τούτους ἐφεξῆς λαμβάνων ἀμοχθήτως
κατήσθιεν, γῆρας δὲ λιπαρὸν ηὑρήκει.
σοφὴ δ᾽ ἀλώπηξ ὑπενόησε καὶ πόρρω
σταθεῖσα "βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἔχεις;" ἐπηρώτα.
κἀκεῖνος εἶπε "χαῖρε, φιλτάτη ζώιων·
τί δ᾽ οὐ προσέρχηι, μακρόθεν δέ με σκέπτηι;
δεῦρο, γλυκεῖα, καί με ποικίλοις μύθοις
παρηγόρησον ἐγγὺς ὄντα τῆς μοίρης."
"σώιζοιο" φησίν, "ἢν δ᾽ ἄπειμι, συγγνώσηι·

XVI 4 δόλιον Haupt: -ίως M ἀληθὲς habet Suidas (οἷά τις νούσωι | κάμνων ἐβέβλητ᾽ οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἀσθμαίνων): -θῶς M 6 ἄγγελος Boissonade: -λου M 17 σώιζοιο Dübner: ζώοιό M

πολλῶν γὰρ ἴχνη θηρίων με κωλύει,
ὧν ἐξιόντων οὐκ ἔχεις ὅ μοι δείξεις."
μακάριος ὅστις οὐ προλαμβάνει πταίσας,
ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς ἄλλων συμφοραῖς ἐπαιδεύθη.

XVII

THE INCOMPETENT DOCTOR (*Mythiamb* 75)

Ἰατρὸς ἦν ἄτεχνος. οὗτος ἀρρώστωι,
πάντων λεγόντων "μὴ δέδιχθι, σωθήσηι·
πάθος μέν ἐστι χρόνιον, ἀλλ᾽ ἔσηι ῥάιων",
"οὐ συναπατῶ σε" φησίν "οὐδ᾽ ἐνεδρεύω·
ἕτοιμα δεῖ σε πάντ᾽ ἔχειν· ἀποθνήισκεις·
τὴν αὔριον γὰρ μακρὸν οὐχ ὑπερβήσηι."
ταῦτ᾽ εἶπε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκέτ᾽ εἰσῄει.
χρόνωι δ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ νόσων ἀνασφήλας
προῆλθεν ὠχρός, τοῖς ποσὶν μόλις βαίνων.
ὁ δ᾽ ἰατρὸς αὐτῶι "χαῖρ᾽" ἔφη συναντήσας,
καὶ πῶς ἔχουσιν οἱ κάτω διηρώτα.
κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν "ἠρεμοῦσι τῆς Λήθης
πίνοντες. ἡ Κόρη δὲ χὠ μέγας Πλούτων
πρώιην ἰατροῖς δεινὰ πᾶσιν ἠπείλουν,
ὅτι τοὺς νοσοῦντας οὐκ ἐῶσ᾽ ἀποθνήισκειν.
ἀνέγραφον δὲ πάντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις
καὶ σὲ γράφειν ἔμελλον· ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ δείσας
εὐθὺς προσῆλθον, ἡψάμην τε τῶν σκήπτρων
κἀπώμοσ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὅτι σὺ ταῖς ἀληθείαις
ἰατρὸς οὐκ εἶ καὶ μάτην διεβλήθης."

XVII 2 δέδιχθι Bergk: δέδιθι M: ⟨τι⟩ δέδιθι Ahrens 4 uersum spurium ὁ δ᾽ ἀτεχνὴς ἰατρὸς εἶπεν εἰσβαίνων habet M 5–6 sic Bergk: inuerso ordine M 5 οὐκ ἐξαπατῶ Crusius 7 μακρὸν Eberhard: τὸ μακρὸν M 16 par.: ἐπὶ τῶι θεραπεύειν τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀνθρώπους M

COMMENTARY

I

Anacreontea

The *Anacreontea* are a collection of sixty anonymous poems which deal with themes treated by the sixth-century BC Ionian lyric poet Anacreon, only meagre fragments of whose work now survive (*PMG* 346–505, *SLG* s 313–15). None of the poems can be precisely dated, but studies of their language and metre have shown that they vary in date between perhaps the second century BC and the end of pagan antiquity; they were probably put together as a planned collection by a mediaeval editor. Although Anacreon himself appears to have treated a wide variety of subjects, sometimes in a satiric tone, and to have composed in several lyric genres, the *Anacreontea* concentrate on themes which by the Hellenistic period had come to be thought his characteristic subject-matter, namely the pleasures of love and of the symposium. Most poems in the collection deal in some way with these themes, which are presented through various conceits and with varying degrees of directness (allegory, parody, ecphrasis, etc.); they depict for the most part a timeless and unspecific world of carefree self-indulgence. Their apparent simplicity often belies a wit, elegance, and lightly worn learning which are clearly influenced by the aesthetics of Hellenistic poetry. Their brevity and *carpe diem* subject-matter have much in common with drinking-songs (*PMG* 884–916, *SH* 521–6) and contemporary epigrams.

Metre. Most poems in the collection are written either in hemiambs (⏓ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓) or in anacreontics (⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓); in the present selection, poems 1, 3, 4, and 6 belong to the former group, poems 2 and 5 to the latter.

Bibl.: Edns.: M. L. West (Teubner, Leipzig, 1984); D. A. Campbell, *Greek lyric* II (Loeb, London/Cambridge, Mass., 1988) 162–257. Later Greek anacreontic poems: T. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici graeci* III (4th edn, Leipzig, 1882) 339–75. Gen.: P. A. Rosenmeyer, *The poetics of imitation: Anacreon and the anacreontic tradition* (Cambridge, 1992). Metre: West, *GM* 168–9. Influence on Herrick: G. Braden, *The Classics and English Renaissance poetry* (New Haven/London, 1978) 196–232, with bibl.

1

The poet describes a dream in which he met Anacreon, a drunken and lusty old man led by Eros. Anacreon crowned the poet with a garland, and since that time he has been in Eros' power.

It is easy to see why the mediaeval editor who assembled our collection of *Anacreontea* chose to make this the opening poem: it dramatises the moment of inspiration from which all the poems that follow might be thought to derive. It fits, too, into a venerable series of passages in which poets describe their initiation or investiture into the art of song: Hesiod met the Muses on Mt Helicon (*Theog.* 22–34); Callimachus, echoing Hesiod, pictured himself transported in a dream from his native Libya to Mt Helicon (fr. 2); Ennius encountered Homer in a dream (bk I frs. ii–x Skutsch); and comparable passages of revelation or initiation occurred in other writers. Anacreon's gift of his garland symbolises both the moment of recognition or initiation for the poet, and his assumption of an Anacreontic persona. The poem is a sampler of subject-matter for the collection as a whole (beauty, desire, wine, garlands), but certain elements have a further, symbolic significance. The garland, for example, is not only a sign of the symposium and a token of poetic success, but also represents the binding power of Eros (15 ἐδησάμην); and the poet's inability to escape from Eros contrasts ironically with his willingness to embrace Anacreon (4 δραμών, 5 περιπλάκην). The twice mentioned aroma associated with Anacreon (8, 13) probably hints that his appearance is a type of epiphany: when gods appear to mortals they are often said to be surrounded by divine fragrance (see Richardson on *Hom. Hymn to Dem.* 275ff., and cf. Theoc. 7.16). The symbolism of Eros as controller of the helpless poet is obvious, and there is a humorous reversal of the usual reaction in lines 14–15: others are grateful for inspiration, but this poet regrets his foolishness in accepting a gift of doubtful benefit.

Bibl.: Rosenmeyer 63–70.

2 [2] Τήϊος: Anacreon was from Teos, a city on the coast of Ionia.

3 [3] The MS has ὄναρ λέγων προσεῖπεν, where ὄναρ is to be taken adverbially, 'in a dream' (LSJ s.v. II), and λέγων leads us to expect words which are not in fact reported. Baxter's parenthetical (ὄναρ λέγω) much improves the sense.

προσεῖπεν 'hailed me'.

5 [5] περιπλάκην: aor. pass. of περιπλέκομαι, 'embrace'. The temporal augment is often omitted in poetry.

φιλήσας: a conventional form of greeting, but in this case a dangerous mistake.

6–8 [6–8] The traditional image of Anacreon: old, tipsy, libidinous. In fact his poetry covered a wide range of subjects, and was in tone less saccharine than the *Anacreontea*.

7 [7] καλὸς δέ: colloquial repetition.

9 [9] τρέμοντα: whether it is drunkenness, old age, or fear of Eros that makes him tremble, is left deliberately unclear.

16 [16] δῆθεν: LSJ translate 'from that time', a meaning elsewhere attested only by the lexicographer Hesychius. It seems possible, however, that the word is to be taken merely as a stronger form of δή.

ἄχρι καὶ νῦν 'right up to the present'.

2

One winter's night Eros knocked at the poet's door and begged admittance to the fireside. Once warmed, he tested out his bow by shooting an arrow at his host, and flew triumphantly away.

This poem, like the last, describes an encounter with Eros and provides an aetiology for the state of mind of the poet/victim, who unwittingly welcomed the god and now is permanently stricken (*16* n.). This is again an allegory for the unexpectedness of love's onset.

In tone, however, this poem differs from the last in having greater literary pretensions. Its language has epic features: ἦμος (2), μερόπων ... φῦλα (4), κέαται (5), μευ (6), θυρέων (7), ἱστίην (19), καθίξας (19), ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ (22), βλάβεται (26), and κέρας (31) are Homeric words or forms; the fem. acc. sing. in -ην (18, 19, 32 (cj.)) is an epic/Ionic feature; and tmesis occurs at 9, 15, and 29. The opening lines, with their elegant astronomical detail, are reminiscent of epic descriptions of night (see 2–3 n.; cf. Ap. Rh. 3.744–50 = *HA 904–10*); and Eros' testing of his bow echoes Odysseus' similar action before he kills the suitors (26–32 n.). These allusions occur within the general outline of a rather different situation, that of the humble host who unknowingly entertains a god or hero (Hecale and Molorcus in Callimachus,

Baucis and Philemon in Ovid, etc.). Traditionally such stories end with a reward for pious hospitality; but here Eros adds insult to injury, so that the poem closes with a reaffirmation of his ungrateful nature.

In addition to these thematic and lexical features from higher genres, the poem contains much sound-play: 5 κέ- κό-, 5 κόπτωι ~ 7 ἔκοπτ', 6 Ἔρ- ἐπ-, 8 -ρας ἀράσσ-, 11 βρέ- ~ 12 βρέ-, 14 -σας ~ 15 -ψας, 15 ἀνά ~ 16 ἀνέ-, 19 παρά ~ 20 παλά-, 21 ἀνέθ- ~ 22 ἀπέθ-, 22 ὑγ- ὕδ-, 24 φέ- φη-, 25 το- τό-, 26 βλά- βρα-, 31 κέρ- ~ 32 καρ-.

>Herrick, 'One silent night of late ...' (ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford, 1956) 26–7).

1–3 [18–20] The depths of a winter's night. Ἄρκτος, 'the Bear', was known also as Ἄμαξα, 'the Wain' (*Il.* 18.487 = *Od.* 5.273; cf. 2 n.); Boötes, which rises behind it and was imagined as extending an arm towards it, was otherwise known as Ἀρκτοῦρος, 'Guardian of the Bear'. Lines 2–3 echo Theoc. 24.11–12 ἆμος δὲ στρέφεται μεσονύκτιον ἐς δύσιν Ἄρκτος | Ὠρίωνα κατ' αὐτόν, ὁ δ' ἀμφαίνει μέγαν ὦμον, a much debated passage which ought to refer to a particular time of night but in fact defines a time of year, probably mid-February, 'when Orion is setting but his shoulder ... is still above the western horizon' (Gow *ad loc.*). By prefacing his astronomy with μεσονυκτίοις ... ὥραις, the Anacreontic poet makes explicit what was implicit in Theocritus; but lines 2–3 still seem to apply better to the season than to the time of night (the rising of Boötes in mid-September was taken to signal the beginning of winter). That this was not the poet's intention is shown by lines 4–5: mortals sleep all night, not all winter.

2 [19] στρέφετ(αι): the word was borrowed by Theocritus (1–3 n.) from *Il.* 18.488 = *Od.* 5.274, where it signifies the recurrent courses of Orion and the Wain.

4 [21] Cf. *Il.* 1.250 δύο ... γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, etc.

5 [22] κέαται: epic/Ionic for κεῖνται.

6 [23] ἐπισταθείς: ἐφίσταμαι is often used of the appearance of dreams and visions (LSJ s.v. B.III), and the word is particularly appropriate for an epiphany.

μευ: with θυρέων ... ὀχῆας.

7 [24] Briefly expressed, but the meaning is clear: he beat at the door, which was bolted on the inside.

9 [26] κατά ... σχίσας: he applies to his dreams a word properly used of bursting open doors.

11 [28] φόβησαι: imperative of an otherwise unattested aorist ἐφοβησάμην. One would expect φοβηθῇις (conj. Blaydes); but why should the regular form have been corrupted?

19 [36] καθίξας 'having sat him down'. Aorists in -ξ- from verbs in -ζω are a feature of West Greek dialects; but, since such forms are occasionally found in Homer, καθίξας here may be intended as a poeticism rather than as a Doricism. (Possibly the more usual καθίσσας should be read.)

21 [38] ἀνέθαλπον: to warm Eros is of course a dangerous mistake.

22 [39] ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ: *Od.* 4.458.

24–32 [41–9] These lines allude to Odysseus' testing of his bow before he begins to kill the suitors: *Od.* 21.393–5 ὁ δ' ἤδη τόξον ἐνώμα | ... πειρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, | μὴ κέρας [cf. 31] ἶπες ἔδοιεν; for ἅλλεται (29) cf. *Od.* 22.2 ἆλτο δ' ἐπὶ μέγαν οὐδόν (of Odysseus before he shoots Antinous).

24 [41] πειράσωμεν: the short α shows that this is aor. subj. of πειράζω, 'test'. Homer's πειρώμενος (24–32 n.) is from πειράω.

26 [43] βλάβεται: βλάβομαι is a rare Homeric variant form of βλάπτομαι.

βραχεῖσα: aor. pass. part. of βρέχω (cf. 12).

28 [45] μέσον ἧπαρ: in Greek poetry the liver is often referred to as the seat of passions, =Eng. 'heart'; cf. Theoc. 11.15–16 (*HA 507–8*) ἔχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἕλκος, | Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλας τό οἱ ἥπατι πᾶξε βέλεμνον.

ὥσπερ οἶστρος: the gadfly is a common poetic image for love's sudden onset and maddening insistence; cf. *871*.

29 [46] καχάζων: already in Homer Aphrodite is called φιλομμειδής, and her son Eros/Cupid is often described as laughing. For his laughter at the poet's expense cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.1.3–4 *risisse Cupido* | *dicitur* (as he

steals a metrical foot) and 1.6.11 *risit, ut audirem, tenera cum matre Cupido* (as he makes the poet a bold night-adventurer).

30 [47] συγχάρηθι: aor. pass. imper. of συγχαίρω, used in the same sense as the active. Eros ironically invites his host to share his joy at finding the bow undamaged – and hence still effective.

3

All nature drinks: why should not I?

We infer that this humorous defence of limitless drinking is spoken by one whose friends are saying that he has had enough. Learned natural-historical arguments are used to show that imbibing is a universal law with which the speaker wishes to live in accord (the Stoic ideal of ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν τῆι φύσει). The lines are cast in the form of a priamel, 'a series of detached statements which through contrast or comparison lead up to the idea with which the speaker is primarily concerned' (Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 899–902).

>A. Cowley, 'The thirsty *Earth* ...' (ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905) 51).

1 [50] ἡ γῆ μέλαινα is an allusion to the common Homeric phrase γαῖα μέλαινα, but the word order is as strange as 'the earth black drinks' in English: one would expect ἡ γῆ ἡ μέλαινα. West's conjecture εἰ would make the whole poem into a single (though rather oddly articulated) sentence, and has much to recommend it. Dr R. D. Dawe suggests μέλαινα γαῖα πίνει or ἢ for ἡ.

2 [51] γῆν: i.e. the earth's moisture.

4 [53] An allusion to the commonly held Stoic view, taken over from Heraclitus, that the sun's fire is fed by exhalation or evaporation from the sea: *SVF* I 121, 501, II 652, 655, I. G. Kidd, *Posidonius* II (i) (Cambridge, 1988) 457–61.

5 [54] The moon's borrowing of its light from the sun is here said to be a form of drinking.

4

I want neither pomp nor riches, but pleasure; who knows what tomorrow may bring? Indulge yourself while you can: sickness may soon prevent you even from drinking.

This poem, like the last, begins with a priamel; the dangers of high office are used as foil for the cosy anonymity of the symposium. This *carpe diem* philosophy is typical of drinking-songs, and is common in the Anacreontic collection. Here it is reinforced by much repetition and syntactical parallelism.

Bibl.: Rosenmeyer 159–61.

>A. Cowley, 'Fill the *Bowl* ...' (ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905) 55–6).

1–4 [57–60] These lines allude to a famous passage from Archilochus (fr. 19 West): "οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, | οὐδ' εἷλέ πώ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίομαι | θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος ..."; Aristotle records that the speaker was a carpenter (1418b30). The Anacreontic poet has replaced πολυχρύσου with a reference to Sardis, but has quoted οὐδ' εἷλέ πώ με ζῆλος verbatim. Gyges, a king of Lydia in the seventh century BC, was proverbial for his wealth; Sardis (Σάρδεις or Σάρδιες) was his capital. He gained power by murder and was killed in an invasion.

11 [67] ὡς = ἕως.

14–15 [70–1] 'In case, if some sickness come, it should forbid you even (μηδέ) to drink.'

5

On the blessed life of the cicada, a carefree songster.

The poem is a μακαρισμός or formal blessing, a type of address which shares with hymns the elements of praise and eulogising description. (For other examples see Richardson on *Hom. Hymn to Dem.* 480.) Natural-historical details of the cicada's life and feeding habits combine with philosophical references (17 n.) to produce a poem which, like the last, wears its learning lightly. One difference between the two

is obvious: whereas in the last poem learning was used to support a life of drunkenness, here the object of praise is a tuneful insect noted for consuming nothing but water (3), so that the typical Anacreontic themes of drinking, music, etc., are transferred to a purer mode of being. Opinions on how distanced or ironical this praise of a passionless existence might be will depend on the identity of 'we' in line 1 (mankind? poets? topers?).

Bibl.: A. Dihle, 'The poem on the cicada', *H.S.C.P.* 71 (1966) 107–13; Rosenmeyer 201–13. The cicada: M. Davies and J. Kathirithamby, *Greek insects* (London, 1986) 113–34; I. C. Beavis, *Insects and other invertebrates in classical antiquity* (Exeter, 1988) 91–103; E. K. Borthwick, 'A grasshopper's diet', *C.Q.* n.s. 16 (1966) 103–12.

>A. Cowley, 'Happy *Insect* . . .' (ed. A. R. Waller (Cambridge, 1905) 57–8).

3 [74] The cicada was said to feed only on dew and/or air (see Gow on Theoc. 4.16). In fact its food is the sap of plants.

πεπωκώς: perf. part. act of πίνω.

4 [75] These words are generally taken to mean that (as lines 5–7 explain) the cicada as it sings is lord of all it surveys, not that it literally sings like a king. Borthwick, however, sees in δρόσον (3) an allusion to Hes. *Theog.* 81–4, where kings are said to be accomplished speakers because at their birth the Muses pour on their tongues 'sweet dew' (γλυκερὴν . . . ἐέρσην), i.e. honey.

7 [78] χὠπόσα (καὶ ὁπόσα) is a conjecture for the (meaningless) MS' κοπόσα. If it is correct, the usual opening rhythm ⏑⏑– has been replaced by –⏑⏑; but see the app. crit. for other suggestions.

9 [80] 'Not harming ⟨them⟩ at all (τι) for any reason', lit. 'harming ⟨them⟩ from nothing at all': for ἀπό of the cause or instrument see LSJ s.v. A.III. 4–6.

μηδενός: one would have expected οὐδενός, but particularly in later Greek μή is sometimes used instead of οὐ for metrical convenience: cf. *1496*.

11 [82] προφήτης: a reference to Plato's description of the cicadas in the *Phaedrus* as Μουσῶν προφῆται (262d), as the next line confirms. In

an earlier passage Socrates had told how the cicadas were originally men, who had been so charmed by music that they died, forgetting to eat or drink; they were made tuneful by the Muses themselves (259b–c). Here the Anacreontic poet makes Apollo, too, their patron.

15 [86] Cf. *Il.* 4.315 (Agamemnon to Nestor) ἀλλά σε γῆρας τείρει ὁμοίιον. The cicada was believed to shed old age together with its skin: cf. Callim. fr. 1.29–36 (*HA 29–36*).

16–17 [87–8] Such lists of epithets are particularly characteristic of hymns (cf. *1465–84*). Here the effect is to reinforce the suggestion of divinity.

16 [87] σοφέ: because poetic skill is a form of σοφία (cf. Callim. fr. 1.18, *HA 18*, and the n. *ad loc.*).

γηγενής: the larva of the cicada develops underground, so that the insect is seen to emerge almost fully formed from the earth. It is said that the Athenians of the archaic period wore golden cicada ornaments in their hair as a symbol of their autochthonous origins, their ancestor Erechtheus having been generated from the earth (Suda τ377).

17 [88] ἀπαθής: because it is happy and does not age; but this adjective is also a philosophical term, meaning 'free from emotion', 'not liable to change' (LSJ s.v.). The next line confirms an allusion to this meaning: ὁμοίωσις θεῷ (Plato, *Theaet.* 176a–b) and ἀπάθεια are the ideals of making oneself like the unchanging divine, and the cicada is thus described in terms appropriate to a practised philosopher.

ἀναιμόσαρκε: the cicada is classified as ἀναίμων by Aristotle (*Hist. anim.* 4.7, 532b8); but more obvious is the allusion to Homer's description of the gods, who have ἰχώρ instead of blood and neither eat food nor drink wine (cf. 3): τοὔνεκ' ἀναίμονές εἰσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται (*Il.* 5.342).

6

The swallow comes to nest, but flies away in winter. Erotes nest and multiply in my heart, but none ever leaves it. There is no remedy.

If the last poem used the cicada as foil for its implied speaker(s), this one uses natural-historical allusion to contrast explicitly with the poet's state of mind. The conceit of winged love or Loves nesting in the heart,

and of their reluctance to fly away, is not a novel one (see West *ad loc.* and Rosenmeyer 205), but it is here given allegorical elaboration: love can be fully developed (8), incipient (9), or half-realised (10); it is endlessly demanding (11–12), and desire begets desire (13–16).

Bibl.: Rosenmeyer 204–6. On the swallow: D'A. W. Thompson, *A glossary of Greek birds* (2nd edn, London, 1936) 314–25.

4 [93] εἶς: an Ionic form of the 2nd pers. sing. of εἶμι, 'go', found also at Hes. *WD* 208.

5 [94] 'πί governs both nouns – a common idiom.
Μέμφιν: a well-known town in Lower Egypt.

8 [97] πτεροῦται 'is fully fledged'.

9 [98] ἀκμήν 'as yet': adverbial.

10 [99] ἡμίλεπτος 'half-hatched': the literal meaning of λεπτός is 'peeled' (<λέπω), but it is hardly ever used in that sense.

12 [101] κεχηνότων: perf. part. act. of χάσκω, 'gape' (here in demanding food).

17 [106] γένηται: deliberative subjunctive, rare in the 3rd person (Goodwin, *GMT* §289).

II

Mesomedes

Little lyric poetry survives from the Imperial period, but it appears that both performance and competition continued to be popular. Mesomedes, a Cretan and a freedman and friend of the emperor Hadrian, wrote short pieces in various metres for accompaniment by the lyre. The surviving poems include prooemia; hymns to the Sun, to Nemesis, to Physis, to Isis, and to the Adriatic; two descriptions of a sundial; beast-fables on a swan trapped by ice and on a gnat resting on the ear of an elephant; a poem on the Chimera; and a piece on glass-making. MSS have preserved musical notation for four of the poems.

This piece, entitled in the MS ἔκφρασις σπόγγου, is a *tour-de-force* lyrical treatment of an unlikely topic. Here and in other poems,

Mesomedes' subject-matter resembles that of epideictic epigrams (p. 82) and is probably a highly original departure for lyric verse. The poem is a love-song in which the singer presents the sponge to his mistress and dignifies it with a mythical description of its uses under the sea. The sponge is a focus for hard work: it rubs down Poseidon's sweating horses; it was procured with difficulty by a diver; and it will be used by its new owner after the κάματος of lovemaking (15).

Mesomedes imitates earlier lyric poets in using a tinge of Doric dialect (6 χαμεύνα, 11 δύτας, 12 ἐργάτας, 14 καλά). His metre in this and in several other poems is *apokrota* (⏔– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– ⏑–) with occasional paroemiacs (⏔– ⏑⏑– ⏑⏑– –, lines 6 and 10). *Apokrota* seem to have been often used by lyric poets in the Imperial period (West, *GM* 172–3).

Bibl.: Edn: E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit* I (2nd edn, Göttingen, 1963) 24–32. Gen.: E. L. Bowie in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine literature* (Oxford, 1990) 85–90; M. L. West, *Ancient Greek music* (Oxford, 1992) 303–8, 383–4, *al.*

2 [110] πολύτρητον 'full of holes' (from τετραίνω, 'perforate') is the Homeric epithet for sponges (*Od.* 1.111, 22.439 = 453). Here apparently the sponge is said to have been perforated 'by the sea's hands [i.e. handiwork]', a boldly lyrical personification. It is less likely that ἁλός qualifies πετρῶν and that παλάμαις φέρω go together.

3 [111] σμήνεσσι: σμῆνος is a beehive, but a sponge is not obviously like a hive: probably the word is used as a synonym for κηρός, 'honeycomb' (4).

3–4 [111–12] Ἀτθίδων | . . . κηρὸν Ὑμήττιον ἐκ πετρῶν: the honey of Attica, and in particular of Mt Hymettus in the south-east, was renowned.

5 [113] ᾧι Γλαῦκος . . . τέρπεται: as if in a flower-garden: cf. 1 ἄνθος. Glaucus was a sea-god.

6 [114] ὅδ' refers to σπόγγος, a word not actually used in the poem.

9–10 [117–18] 'This washes ⟨away⟩ the foamy pantings of the rushing colts of the Earthshaker': the nymphs rub down with sponges Poseidon's chariot-team.

9 [117] θυάδων seems the most likely restoration of the MS reading: other authors use θυελλόπους (and ἀελλόπους) of horses.

11–12 [119–20] The frightful task of the σπογγοκολυμβηταί or sponge-divers is described in curious detail by Oppian, *Hal.* 5.612–74 = *1243–305*.

12 [120] ὕδασιν may equally well qualify τάμε, νηχόμενος, and δύτας.

14 [122] The imagery of λύσηι (not λούσηι, despite 10 λούει) is perhaps related to that of χιονέων: λύω can be used of dissolving snow.

15 [123] κάματον τὸν ἐρωτικὸν †ὀμμάτων†: the sense was probably that the woman will wash herself after lovemaking; but the text has not been convincingly emended. Wilamowitz's conjecture ἀμμάτων would imply a struggle over her girdle; but γύναι (14) perhaps tells against the idea of virginity just lost.

III

Epigrams

Epigrams were used originally for funerary and celebratory inscriptions. Hellenistic poets, perhaps the first to compose literary, non-functional epigrams, broadened the range of subject-matter to include topics familiar from lyric poetry and from drinking-songs – love, sex, humour, the symposium (see *HA* pp. 243–71). Throughout the Imperial period the literary epigram remained popular, attracting both specialist practitioners and writers in other genres. At Rome the circles of Cicero and Seneca produced many such poems. The satirical epigram with a pointedly witty ending, of which the best known exponent is the Latin poet Martial, was developed in Greek in the first century AD by Lucillius and others, and long continued popular. Emphasis on cleverness and wit led to the technical virtuosity of Leonides (q.v. below) and to the production of epideictic pieces, in which bizarre or piquant situations were described. It is clear that in the second century, under Trajan and Hadrian, the epigram flourished in conditions generally favourable to the arts. It is not now possible to see any obvious progression in themes or technique in the next three centuries.

In the reign of Justinian I (527–565) the Christian Agathias and his classicising contemporaries wrote miniature elegies often on subjects imitated from Hellenistic and later poets. During the whole Imperial period imitation and variation continued to be important. Some change in fashion can perhaps be detected: love-poems and fictitious epitaphs decline in popularity, and there is a corresponding increase in pointed wit, parody, and mockery of epigrammatic conventions. After the Hellenistic period there is little metrical experimentation: the vast majority of poems are written in elegiacs, a few in iambic trimeters or, in later times, hexameters. The dialect is almost uniformly epic/Ionic, but writers differ in their closeness to or distance from the syntax and vocabulary of contemporary speech.

In about 100 BC Meleager assembled his *Garland* (Στέφανος), a collection of epigrams by forty Hellenistic and supposedly pre-Hellenistic poets; in about AD 40 Philip of Thessalonica compiled another *Garland*, which included poets from the intervening period. These, together with the *Cycle* (Κύκλος) of Agathias and several other anthologies of poems from the Imperial period, provided material for a huge collection by Constantinus Cephalas in the early tenth century. Cephalas' work in turn formed the basis for the *Greek Anthology* or *Anthologia Palatina* (*AP*), compiled later in the same century, which disposes its 3,700 poems according to theme (epitaphs, dedications, erotic and satirical pieces, etc.).

The selection given here contains work by the following named poets.

Agathias of Myrina in Asia Minor (c. 532 – c. 580), who studied in Alexandria and practised as an advocate in Constantinople. He composed a nine-book hexameter poem *Daphniaca* on erotic themes (now lost) and an unfinished *History* which continued Procopius' *Wars of Justinian*. His lengthy epigrams, often on traditional themes, are influenced by the language of Nonnus and by contemporary rhetoric. He collected them, together with those of legal colleagues and others, in his seven-book *Cycle*. See Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970) 1–29.

Antiphilus of Byzantium (fl. mid first century), author of about fifty epigrams in Philip's *Garland*. Most are elaborately phrased, after the style of Leonidas of Tarentum (*HA* p. 245), and many describe paradoxical situations.

Cillacter (late first century?), about whom nothing is known, an author of satirical epigrams.

Leonides of Alexandria (fl. second half of first century), an astrologer turned poet, who composed with great ingenuity isopsephic epigrams, that is poems in which each couplet (or each line in a two-line epigram) adds up to the same figure if the letters are given their usual value as numerals (α–ε = 1–5, ζ–θ = 7–9, ι–π = 10–80, ρ–ω = 100–800; the numbers 6, 90, and 900, being represented by the obsolete letters ϛ, ϙ, and ϡ, are not used). None of his poems is longer than four lines, and most have themes common elsewhere in the *Anthology*; few betray by forced expression the constraints under which Leonides was writing. It seems likely that he was the inventor of this type of epigram; but it had no doubt long been popular to see significance in isopsephy of individual words (cf. *188–9*): Νέρων, for example, was happily shown to total the same as ἰδίαν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε (Suet. *Nero* 39). For a full discussion, including revelation of how it was done, see *FGE* pp. 503–14.

Lucillius (mid first century), who was an important figure in the development of the satirical epigram. His language is more colloquial than that of most epigrammatists. Some of his poems were imitated by Martial.

Macedonius, known as 'The Consul', a contemporary of Agathias. He contributed to the *Cycle* epigrams on amatory and other traditional topics.

Marcus Argentarius (fl. early first century), a contributor to Philip's *Garland*, who composed erotic and satirical poems in an elegant and highly literary style which owes much in technique and vocabulary to Leonidas of Tarentum.

Marianus, an advocate, who contributed five epigrams to the *Cycle* of Agathias. He is often presumed to be identical with the Roman Marianus who reached high office at Eleutheropolis in Palestine during the reign of Anastasius (491–518), and who composed iambic metaphrases, now lost, of Theocritus, Apollonius, Aratus, the *Hecale*, *Hymns*, and *epigrams* of Callimachus, the *Theriaca* of Nicander, etc. (Suda s.v.); but the identification is not certain (A. and A. Cameron, 'The Cycle of Agathias', *J.H.S.* 86 (1966) 17).

Palladas (fourth century), an Alexandrian schoolmaster, who specialised in epigrams infused with black, bitter, and cynical humour: he combined satire and disillusioned reflection with a highly individual poetic voice. About 150 of his poems are preserved in the *Anthology*.

Paulus Silentiarius, a perhaps older contemporary of Agathias. He derived his surname from his being an usher at the Imperial court (*silentiarius* = enjoiner of respectful silence in the emperor's presence). He wrote a hexameter descriptive poem on the church of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople and contributed about eighty erotic and other epigrams to the *Cycle* of Agathias, whose style he resembles in closeness to Nonnian diction and general discursiveness.

Statyllius Flaccus (? first century), of whom nothing is known. Some fifteen of his epigrams, on a variety of subjects, are found in the *Anthology*, and his work may have been included in Philip's *Garland*.

Strato of Sardis (first half of second century), who specialised in epigrams on pederastic themes. Most of his poems are found in book 12 of the *Anthology*, a collection of homosexual verse.

Theaetetus, an advocate, who was another contemporary of Agathias; he may be identical with the Theaetetus who wrote *On Attic words* and *On proverbs*. The five epigrams which he contributed to the *Cycle* are elegant variations on common themes.

Bibl.: At the foot of the text references are given to poems included in *GP* or *FGE*. There is a Loeb edition of the whole *Greek Anthology* by W. R. Paton (5 vols., London/Cambridge, Mass., 1916–18). No large-scale work on the literary history of the ancient epigram exists in English, or in any other language. The sources of the *Anthology* are discussed in detail by Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (Oxford, 1993).

1

Separated from his mistress, the poet envies the closeness of two lovers who, though unable to mingle their souls, can at least entwine their limbs. In the central section the lovers, who have exchanged garments, are compared respectively to Phoebe and to Achilles when he hid himself among women. Two types of desire are contrasted, and the final couplet is a surprise: lines 1–16 dwell on the impossibility of perfect union, but 17–18 assert that such imperfection is better than being quite apart.

Descriptions of intertwined lovers are not rare in erotic verse, but some scholars have detected a particularly close link between this poem and Propertius 1.13, which it resembles also in including a mythological comparison. More generally, some critics have suspected that Roman love elegy inspired the ambitious length characteristic of many epigrams in Agathias' *Cycle*. The case is by no means proven: see, for example, J. C. Yardley, 'Paulus Silentiarius, Ovid, and Propertius', *C.Q.* n.s. 30 (1980) 239–43.

Paulus' vocabulary is influenced by Nonnus or the Nonnian school: λύσσα (1), ἀνάγκη (5) πανείκελος (7), γυιοβόρος (11), ἡμερίς (12), σύμπλοκος (12), and ἀντίπορος (15) are words characteristic of the *Dionysiaca*.

1 [124] λύσσης: used of mad passion by Hellenistic and later poets.

3 [126] οὐ κόρον εἶχον ἔρωτος: perhaps a contradictory allusion to the proverbial *Il.* 13.636 πάντων μὲν κόρος ἐστί, καὶ ὕπνου καὶ φιλότητος. Nonnus makes the point explicitly: *Dion.* 42.180–1 γυναιμανέοντι δὲ μούνῳ | οὐ κόρος ἐστὶ πόθων· ἐψεύσατο βίβλος Ὁμήρου.

ἀφειδέος is ambiguous: they were 'unsparing' of their mutual desire, but love is proverbially 'merciless' or 'unsparing' of its victims.

4 [127] εἰ θέμις ought to mean 'if it were right to do so'; but in this context 'if it were possible' makes better sense.

5 [128] ἀμφασίης . . . ἀνάγκην 'their helpless yearning' – a complex phrase. ἀνάγκη is irresistible desire, and ἀμφασίης, lit. 'speechlessness', must here mean 'helplessness' (because that about which one is speechless cannot be helped?).

ὅσον ὅσσον 'just a little', lit. 'only so much': see LSJ s.v. ὅσος IV.2.

6 [129] φάρεσιν ἑσσάμενοι: ἕννυμι occasionally takes dat. rather than acc.: cf. Ap. Rh. 3.454 φάρεσιν ἧστο/εἶτο/ἕστο.

7–8 [130–1] When Achilles was still a child Thetis foresaw that he would die at Troy. She persuaded Lycomedes, king of Scyros (an island east of Euboea), to allow him to be brought up at his court in the disguise of a girl, so that the Greek leaders should not find him. While still in disguise he seduced the king's daughter, Deidamia, who bore him Neoptolemus. His identity was finally exposed by a trick of Odysseus. See Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8, Statius, *Achilleid* 1, Ovid, *Met.* 13.162–80.

9–10 [132–3] ἀργυφέης ἐπιγουνίδος ἄχρι χιτῶνα | ζωσαμένη: borrowed from Ap. Rh. 3.874–5 ἂν δὲ χιτῶνας | λεπταλέους λευκῆς ἐπιγουνίδος ἄχρις ἄειρον and Call. *Hymn to Artemis* 11–12 ἐς γόνυ μέχρι χιτῶνα | ζώννυσθαι. In later Greek Phoebe = the moon = Artemis, and the girl is compared to her in two respects: as ἀργυφέης is the colour of the moon so the short hunting-cloak is characteristic of Artemis.

11 [134] ἠρήρειστο 'were pressed <against each other>': 3rd sing. pluperf. pass. of ἐρείδω.

13 [136] ῥεῖα is apparently used here as a comparative, unless ῥᾶια is to be read.

15 [138] ἀντιπόροισι: their arms are intertwined 'from opposite sides' – an unusual expression.

17–18 [140–1] τρὶς μάκαρ . . . | τρὶς μάκαρ echoes the repetition at *Od.* 6.154–5 (Odysseus to Nausicaa) τρὶς μάκαρες μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ, | τρὶς μάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητοι.

2

Another narrative epigram. The poet describes in terms of a night-attack on a fortified citadel his successful entry into the bedchamber of a girl guarded by a serving-maid and an old woman. During that preliminary reconnaissance only kisses were his reward; but he undertakes next time to triumph completely.

The conceit on which the poem is based, that of the lover as soldier and of his courtship as a campaign or *militia amoris*, is a very common one: see McKeown's note on Ovid, *Amores* 1.9, a poem which brings out in a different way detailed correspondences between the two occupations.

This poem, like the last, owes much to Nonnian vocabulary and phrasing: γείτονι κούρῃ (1), δόχμιος (2), χερσὶν ἀδουπήτοις (8), κατὰ βαιόν (13), ἀεθλοσύνη (18), and κορείη (19) are borrowed from or commonly used by Nonnus.

1 [142] φθονερή: she is a jealous guardian.

γείτονι: i.e. next to her in bed.

2 [143] δόχμιον . . . νῶτον ἐρεισαμένη probably = δοχμωθεῖσα,

'turned on her side', rather than implying that she was lying on her back slantwise across the bed. She is sleeping next to the girl but on the near side of the bed.

4 [145] ἁπλοΐς: a single cloak (the διπλοΐς was of double thickness). Such garments were commonly used as bedclothes. The cloak resembles a tower only in so far as it hinders approach.

5 [146] σοβαρή, 'violent', 'swaggering', 'proud', makes the servant-girl seem like the confident keeper of impregnable defences.

6 [147] χαλικρήτωι νάματι 'an unmixed draught'. χάλις, 'neat wine', is perhaps cognate with χαλάω, 'loosen', since strong drink loosens the mind.

7 [148] στρεπτῆρα, found only here, presumably means the pin in its socket serving as hinge at the base of the door. (The usual word is στροφεύς or στρόφιγξ.) He lifts the door slightly to prevent it from squeaking.

9 [150] φρυκτοὺς αἰθαλόεντας: a portentous epical phrase. In war torches were used for night-signals as well as for lighting possible points of attack; here the poet is able to put out their homely equivalent by using his cloak as a fan.

11–12 [152–3] He crawls under the bed on his stomach as if approaching a guarded part of a city wall.

12 [153] σχοίνοις: a mattress made of rushes.

13 [154] ὅπηι βατὸν ἔπλετο τεῖχος echoes the warlike context of *Il.* 6.433–4 ἔνθα μάλιστα | ἄμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος.

15–16 [156–7] ὑπεθρύφθην . . . εὐαφίηι 'I took delight in her face, gorging my mouth on the soft touch of her lips': elegant preciosity, in Greek at least.

18 [159] Pfeiffer conjectured that this line was borrowed in whole or in part from Callimachus' *Lock of Berenice* (fr. 110; see *HA* p. 85): at this point the Greek is lost, but Catullus' version has *dulcia nocturnae portans uestigia rixae | quam de uirgineis gesserat exuuiis* (66.13–14).

ἀεθλοσύνης 'escapade'. For the metaphor cf. 21, *934* ἔρωτος ἀεθλεύσειεν ἀγῶνα.

19 [160] πύργωμα κορείης humorously varies Nonnian phrases such as ἅμμα κορείης (*Dion.* 1.350, etc.) and σφρηγῖδα κορείης (*Dion.* 2.305). Cf. 3.

20 [161] 'It is encompassed by a defence not yet fought over.' Her girdle (or her cloak? – cf. 3–4) is described as a defensive earthwork (LSJ s.v. ἀναβολή I.1) which protects her virginity: see Bühler on Moschus, *Europa* 72–3.

22 [163] The threat and its object are linked by assonance: τάχ-/τείχ-, πορθ-/παρθ-.

23 [164] τυχήσω: an epic form of the aor. subj. (Attic τύχω).

24 [165] τροπαιοφόρε = *triumphalis*. The goddess of love is given an epithet elsewhere applied to Nike or Zeus.

3

Wounded by love, the poet begs the girl who aroused his passion to provide the only remedy, just as Achilles consented to heal Telephus.

Macedonius here elaborates the common image of the wound from love's arrow (cf. Theoc. 11.15, Call. *AP* 12.134.1 = *HA 1590*, etc.). His use of mythological allusion is characteristic of contemporary epigrammatists (cf. *130–3*, *172–81* below), though the application of Telephus' story to an erotic context is by no means original (cf. Prop. 2.1.63, Ovid, *Am.* 2.9.7–8, *Rem.* 47–8).

Bibl.: Alan Cameron, 'Two notes on the *Anthology*', *C.P.* 75 (1980) 140–1; M. Marcovich, '*Anthologia palatina* 5.225 (Macedonius)', *C.P.* 78 (1983) 328–30.

1 [166] ἰχώρ, in Homer the blood of the gods (*Il.* 5.340, 416), is applied by medical writers to the matter that seeps from wounds. His love is a running sore that discharges tears.

2 [167] οὔποτε τερσομένης: in Homer τέρσομαι is used of the drying of both blood and tears: cf. in particular *Il.* 16.518–19 (Glaucus) οὐδέ

μοι αἷμα | τερσῆναι δύναται, *Od.* 5.151–2 (Odysseus) οὐδέ ποτ' ὄσσε | δακρυόφιν τέρσοντο.

3 [168] καί: delayed to second word.

ἐκ: causal (LSJ s.v. III.6), unless the meaning is 'I have no means of escaping (μηχανή) *from* my trouble'.

3–4 [168–9] Machaon, healer of wounds in the *Iliad*. In bk 4 he removes the arrow from Menelaus, and ἤπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς | πάσσε (218–19).

5–6 [170–1] Telephus was wounded by Achilles' spear, and was told by Apollo that he could be healed only by the one who had wounded him. Achilles cured him by sprinkling rust from the spear into his wound, and in return Telephus guided the Greek fleet to Troy. The most famous treatment of the story was by Euripides in his *Telephus*, now lost. See Apollod. *Epit.* 3.17–20.

5 [170] πιστός: Telephus relied on Achilles for a cure, and was not disappointed.

6 [171] He asks her to cure his desire by indulging it: 'end my desire with your beauty, as you inflicted it ⟨with your beauty⟩', if the text is sound. Cameron's conjecture ᾧι μ' for ὡς eases the construction ('end with your beauty the desire with which you afflicted me'), but at the expense of point: the parallel with Telephus means that ᾧι should refer to κάλλεϊ, which is impossible. Cf. *935–8* n.

4

Circe was not a witch, as Homer relates, but a wicked hetaera who lured and beggared her customers and kept them in her house like senseless beasts. Odysseus, wiser with age, kept his wits and avoided her charms.

The poem exploits allegorical interpretations of Homer, which saw Circe as embodying the attractions of ἡδονή and Odysseus' metamorphosed crew as slaves to passion (cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1.2.23–6, Dio Chrys. 8.21–6, Eustath. 1655.12, 1656.8). Such theorising, of a type often associated with the Hellenistic scholar Euhemerus, made respectable Homeric tales which to later readers appeared unseemly or immoral: see p. 4. Palladas' explanation is at the opposite extreme: the real Circe, he claims, was even less seemly than she appeared in the *Odyssey*. Such an approach is typical of Palladas' sardonic wit.

2 [173] ἢ σύας ἠὲ λύκους: cf. *Od.* 10.432–3 (Circe) ἥ κεν ἅπαντας | ἢ σῦς ἠὲ λύκους ποιήσεται.

4 [175] δελεασθέντας: she was a 'hooker'.

ἐποίει: in Attic dialect the stem of this verb may be scanned as a short syllable.

8 [179] τὴν νεότητα φυγών: he was past youth and its follies.

9 [180] οὐχ Ἑρμοῦ: Hermes gave to Odysseus the herb μῶλυ as φάρμακον against Circe's magic (*Od.* 10.277–306). Allegorisers saw the plant as representing a measure of experience, which prevented Odysseus from succumbing to pleasure (Eustath. 1658.10–30).

10 [181] ἀντίπαλον 'counteracting', lit. 'wrestling against' (παλαίω).

5

The poet calls on moon and stars to witness that Ariste is not to be found. But hard cash will track her down soon enough.

This poem, like the last, has as its subject a mercenary hetaera characterised as 'bewitching' (4 μάγον). But in contrast to Palladas' sardonic voice, we find here an elaborately phrased appeal and an unexpected point made the more emphatic by the contrast between its elegant form and cynical substance.

1–2 [182–3] He invokes moon and stars because it is during the night that he hopes to see Ariste. Similarly Ocean (the Homeric river that surrounds the world, and into which the constellations set) is said to receive the stars in its 'bosom', as the poet hopes to receive his mistress.

4 [185] ἑκταίην 'on the sixth day': he has not seen her for five days.

μάγον: cf. Eng. 'charmer'.

6 [187] ἀργυρέους σκύλακας: the 'silver hounds' are coins, a certain means of tracing a hetaera.

6

The pederastic poet discovers a telling coincidence: the words πρωκτός and χρυσός add up to the same thing.

On the fashion for isopsephy see p. 84 on Leonides of Alexandria. This poem, like *172–81* and *182–7*, treats sexual venality; it points to a fundamental correspondence, or perfect exchange, between sex and money.

1 [188] πρωκτός and **χρυσός** both total 1,570 if their letters are taken to represent numbers.

7

On a woman whose cosmetics cannot mask her age.

Book 11 of the *Anthology* contains satirical epigrams chiefly from the Imperial age; many are ingenious gibes at physical defects. They share with epigrams of other types the novel use of mythological and literary references. Here Lucillius neatly juxtaposes and contrasts two Iliadic heroines with similar-sounding names but quite different appearance.

>Cf. Martial 3.43.

1 [190] γῆρας: although Lucillius is not so strict in metre as most epigrammatists, he has no other instance of a short final syllable being arbitrarily lengthened in this way in the second half of a foot; and in any case a spondaic word ending with the fourth foot is a rhythm generally avoided. Of the proposed emendations, Jacobs' γῆρας δὲ σόν seems the most likely.

3 [192] ψιμύθωι 'white lead', used to give a pallor which was thought desirable but could make the face look like an actor's mask.

5 [194] οὐδὲν γὰρ πλέον ἔστι 'it's no use', lit. 'there's nothing more' – an idiomatic expression.

φῦκος 'rouge', made from a species of seaweed: see Gow on Theoc. 15.15f.

8

On boys' ages and their respective attractions.

The *Anthology* contains several variations on this theme. Strato's poem builds up to a crescendo of desirability before introducing a bathetic joke which, as often, uses Homeric language to novel effect. Another feature of the poem is the elegant and varied way in which metrically intractable numbers are accommodated to the verse.

1 [196] ἀκμῆι δωδεκέτους 'the prime/bloom of a twelve-year-old', by analogy with phrases such as ἀκμὴ ἥβης, 'the prime of one's age'.

3 [198] τά: sc. ἔτη.

νέμων = ἔχων: cf. LSJ s.v. III.1.

ἄνθος Ἐρώτων 'height of desire'. Given that lines 7 and 9 end with quotations, it is possible that this phrase alludes to Aesch. *Agam.* 743 ἔρωτος ἄνθος; but the idea is a common one.

5–6 [200–1] Sixteen-year-olds are 'divine'; boys of seventeen are the prerogative of Zeus (perhaps a reference to Ganymede).

6 [201] ζητεῖν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός: an adaptation of a famous line in which Callimachus repudiates portentous verse: βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός (fr. 1.20 = *HA 20*).

7 [202] παίζει: this verb is sometimes used of sexual play (LSJ s.v. I.5). Here the etymological link with παῖς is significant.

8 [203] 'But he is by that time asking for "he in turn replied"': i.e. if he approaches a boy of that age he is likely to be asked for a similar favour in return. The words τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος are commonly used in Homer to introduce a speech made in answer.

9

Another poem where the point lies in ingenious literary allusion, this time to the titles of Menandrean comedies. It is so constructed that the final couplet refers to three well known plays; but the (no doubt fictitious) circumstances described in lines 1–10 recall and re-enact the incident from which the Περικειρομένη takes its title: the young mercenary Polemo cut off the hair of Glycera, the girl with whom he was living, in a fit of jealous fury when told that she had let someone else kiss her. It is material to the play, but not to this epigram, that Polemo is not the typical braggart soldier that this action suggests; and that the girl knew (as no one else yet knew) that the man involved was actually

her brother. Agathias says that a contemporary Polemo, finding the poet with his mistress, has not only shorn but also beaten her.

Two earlier epigrams use play-titles for a similar effect (Fronto, *AP* 12.233; Strato, *AP* 12.193).

Bibl.: J. C. Yardley, 'Paulus Silentiarius, Ovid, and Propertius', *C.Q.* n.s. 30 (1980) 239–41.

1 [204] τὸν σοβαρὸν Πολέμωνα: perhaps an allusion to *Perik.* 52/172, where Polemo is called ὁ σοβαρὸς ... καὶ πολεμικός, at a striking moment in the play; but perhaps it is rather an allusion to [Plato], *AP* 6.1.1 (*FGE* 604) ἡ σοβαρὸν γελάσασα καθ' Ἑλλάδος, ἡ τὸν ἐραστῶν ... It is possible that the poem contains more verbal echoes of the Menandrean account of Glycera's shearing, but it is distanced from Menander by its own conventions of language, with many words and forms which are outside the normal comic vocabulary (cf. 7 n.).

ἐν θυμέλῃσι 'on the stage'. θυμέλη, 'altar', was used particularly of Dionysus' altar in the orchestra of the theatre, and hence of the wider area where acting took place.

2 [205] κείραντα alludes to the play's title, Περικειρομένη.

τῆς ἀλόχου: ἄλοχος can mean 'wife' or 'mistress'. Polemo marries Glycera at the end of the play, when their quarrel is over and her identity is established; but here she is his mistress, and that is how the reader would naturally think of her.

3 [206] ὁπλότερος Πολέμων 'a latter-day Polemo' – whether a man actually called Polemo or a man acting like him, is unclear. The phrase has violent overtones: ὁπλότερος is from ὅπλον, and perhaps meant originally 'capable of bearing arms'; Πολέμων might equally well be the participle πολεμῶν. (At *Perik.* 228/478 there is a variant reading which (if right) would have Menander playing on the etymology of his hero's name (πολεμεῖς ... πόλεμον in close sequence).)

5 [208] τὸ κωμικὸν ἔργον: the shearing.

6 [209] μάστιξεν: the tragic character who made himself conspicuous with a whip was Ajax in Sophocles, in the madness which made him attack the cattle and sheep thinking they were the Greek leaders; the play was in fact sometimes known as Αἴας μαστιγοφόρος, and may be the basis of this allusion.

ἄψεα: cf. *139*.

θηλυτέρης: LSJ do not record the common use of this word as a noun in later Greek (see Gow on Theoc. 17.35 and Kost on Mus. 36 = *773*).

7 [210] ζηλομανές: at *Perik.* 409/987 Polemo is called ζηλότυπος.

8 [211] τειρόμενον: sc. with love.

9 [212] διέτμαγε 'separated': 2nd aor. act. of διατμήγω.

9–10 [212–13] μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ | βλέμματος 'even with regard to our very glances'. He keeps a ragingly jealous watch (10) over their every movement.

11 [214] ἀλλ' ἔμπης: these words often introduce a pointed final couplet: cf. *186*.

11–12 [214–15] "Μισούμενος" . . . "Δύσκολος": plays by Menander, among the famous ones to judge by all that is known of them. Μισούμενος, like *Perikeiromene*, survives in considerable fragments, and takes its title from the hatred that another of Menander's soldiers met with from the girl he loved; Δύσκολος (or Μισάνθρωπος by its alternative title) has as its chief character an angry old man, the disagreeable Cnemon.

10

The poet asks his host not to expose him to humourless and abstemious grammatical quibblers: he wants to drink without scholarly disputations.

The *Anthology* contains several satirical epigrams against pedants and critics (Philip, *AP* 11.321, 347; Antiphanes, *AP* 11.322; Antipater, *AP* 11.20; cf. Herodicus *ap.* Athen. 222a). Here Lucillius denounces them with bombastic terminology coined for the purpose. The next two poems have a similar object of attack.

1 [216] παρὰ δεῖπνον: there was a long tradition of discussion of philosophical and technical topics at after-dinner symposia; the large number of imitations of Plato's *Symposium* (see *OCD* s.v. *Symposium Literature*) bear witness to the popularity of the setting.

ἀοιδομάχοις λογολέσχαις 'praters about words who fight with

verse': they dispute endlessly and attempt to confute each other with quotations.

2 [217] Ἀριστάρχου: Aristarchus (c. 216 – c. 144 BC), the most famous ancient scholar, edited and commented on Homer and many other poets: see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical scholarship from the beginnings to the end of the Hellenistic age* (Oxford, 1968) 210–33.

γραμματολικριφίσιν: the adverb λικριφίς, itself a choice Homeric rarity (*Il.* 14.463, *Od.* 19.451) of the type discussed by grammarians, means 'sideways' or 'obliquely'. Lucillius' compound may imply that the scholars attack their problems indirectly, or that they scribble their annotations slantwise in margins.

3 [218] πεῖν: a late and non-literary form of πιεῖν, perhaps used here for maximum contrast with the portentous vocabulary that characterises the scholars.

ἀνάκεινται 'they recline <at table>': LSJ s.v. III.

4 [219] 'Playing around childishly with Nestor and Priam', i.e. indulging in immature and pedantic speculations about their ages, etc. There may also be a hint that the grammarians themselves are, like Nestor and Priam, garrulous and good for nothing.

5 [220] κατὰ λέξιν 'as the phrase goes' (LSJ), or perhaps 'literally'.

"ἕλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι" 'to be prey and spoil', a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 5.488, 17.151, *Od.* 3.271, 5.473). Exposure to pedants is like being thrown to wild beasts.

6 [221] "μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά": the opening words of the *Iliad*.

11

On a rhetorician who over-indulges in Atticisms.

The so-called Atticist authors made a stand for linguistic purity as κοινή Greek moved gradually away from the usage of the Classical period. They attempted to use only words attested in Attic writers of the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and particularly affected words and forms found only in the Attic dialect. (See G. Kennedy, *The art of persuasion in Greece* (London, 1963) 330–40.)

1 [222] "πολλοῦ δεῖ" 'far from it'.

"σφίν" (=αὐτοῖς) is not in fact found in Attic prose, where the form σφισί is used; but it may have been regarded as an interesting archaism. 'Such pronoun-forms were the subject of elaborate treatises, represented today primarily by Apollonius Dyscolus περὶ ἀντωνυμιῶν' (Gow/Page on *GP* 3037–8). Cf. 6.

τρὶς παρ' ἕκαστα 'three times in each instance', i.e. in every speech or composition.

1–2 [222–3] "δικασταί | ἄνδρες": in lawcourt speeches the jury were addressed as ἄνδρες δικασταί.

2 [223] "λέγε . . . μοι": a metrical version of phrases such as καί μοι ἀνάγνωθι τὸν νόμον, which was used in lawcourt speeches to command the reading out of a relevant law.

3 [224] "ταυτί": neut. pl. of the emphatic form οὑτοσί, which was exclusively Attic.

"μῶν": contracted from interrogative μὴ οὖν; common in Plato and the Attic writers.

"τετταράκοντα" . . . "ἄττα": -ττ- for -σσ- is a feature of the Attic dialect. ἄττα (=τινα) is used frequently by Plato.

4 [225] σκεψάμενος 'having looked about for', i.e. ready equipped with, these phrases. He uses them as talismans instead of preparing a speech of decent quality.

καί τοι, though outside the quotations, is an unusual combination of words, and may be intended to sound preciously Attic.

"νὴ Δία" . . . "μὰ Δία": both phrases are common in Attic writers.

5 [226] πολλά: probably adverbial with διδάσκει.

6 [227] προσθήσει δ' αὐτοῖς: probably 'he will add to them [sc. the Atticisms already mentioned]' rather than 'he will set before them [sc. his pupils]'.

"γρῦ": used by the Attic writers in the phrase οὐδὲ γρῦ, 'not a bit' (lit. 'not even a grunt').

"φαθί": the point probably lies not in the form of the word but in the accent, it being characteristic of Attic to accent certain aorist imperatives on the final syllable. See H. W. Chandler, *Greek accentuation* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1881) §§796, 774, 783.

"μίν" is not found in Attic prose. Like σφίν, it and its Doric form νιν were much discussed by grammarians (1 n.; *AP* 11.321.5–6; Herodicus *ap.* Athen. 222a).

12

A scholar's daughter had masculine, feminine, and neuter offspring.

The joke has not prevented modern scholars from solemnly debating whether the reference is to a single child of doubtful sex or to three children; and whether, in the latter case, οὐδέτερον means a hermaphrodite, a baby with no sexual characteristics, or a still birth.

>This poem (or its lost source) inspired Ausonius, *epigram* 50 (p. 79 Green), where a teacher of grammar making a wedding-speech wishes for the bridal pair *et masculini et feminini gignite | generisque neutri filios.*

1 [228] φιλότητι μιγεῖσα: a common epic euphemism for sexual intercourse. The phrase contrasts in tone with the prosaic γραμματικοῦ θυγάτηρ and with the joke that follows. But since γραμματικοί expounded Homer, it is humorously appropriate.

13

Socles promised to cure Diodorus' bent spine, and did so – but killed his patient in the process.

Doctors and quackery were a popular subject for satire in the *Anthology* (cf. *234–55*), in comedy, and elsewhere.

1 [230] κυρτόν 'hunchback'.

4 [233] κανόνος 'a ruler', in particular one used by masons for measuring stones – an added point after λίθους.

14

Callignotus, a physician, visits the pleuritic Alcimenes and solemnly rehearses the mysteries of his art. His real concern, however, is to become a legatee.

This poem combines two popular objects for satirical attack, the doctor and the legacy-hunter. It is another of Agathias' experiments in narrative epigram (cf. *142–65*). The vocabulary is partly epical (1 κεκακωμένος, 2 λαυκανίην, 3 ξιφέεσσιν, 4 δυσκελάδοις, etc.), and partly technical. The contrast between elegant form and disreputable content complements that between Callignotus' grave persona and his ignoble ambitions.

Bibl.: J. Duffy, 'On an epigram of Agathias (*AP* XI 382)', *A.J.P.* 104 (1983) 287–94.

1 [234] ἐκ: causal: cf. *168*.

2 [235] βραγχὰ λαρυγγιόων 'croaking hoarsely' (neut. pl. as adverb).

3 [236] ἀμυχθέν: neut. sing. aor. part. pass. of ἀμύσσω, 'tear to pieces'.

5 [238] ὁ Κώϊος: the island of Cos was famous for its doctors, chief among them Hippocrates (cf. 12).

πλατυλέσχης, a novel compound, probably refers to the breadth, i.e. diffuseness, of his talk rather than to the broadness of the Doric vowels of his Coan dialect.

7–8 [240–1] These lines can be read as a compliment ('having ⟨access to⟩ every prognosis ⟨for those⟩ in pain, and forecasting nothing but what was to happen'), but lines 13–18 show that the words are literally true: he prognosticates for all contingencies, and forecasts nothing clever, but only what will happen in any event.

9 [242] ἀνάκλισιν: the patient's posture was considered important in diagnosis.

10 [243] φράζετο 'made observations'.

11 [244] τὸ περὶ κρισίμων φαέων . . . γράμμα: a Hippocratic book listing 'critical days', fixed days on which the κρίσις, or determination of the future course of the disease, took place. Different diseases had different critical days. According to Hippocratic theories, the κρίσις was brought about by conflict between the bodily humours; the doctor's πρόγνωσις (7, 13) decided by observation of symptoms the stage which the disease had reached, and its likely result after the κρίσις. See W. H. S. Jones, *Hippocrates* I (Loeb, London/Cambridge, Mass., 1923) xlvi–lv.

14 [247] σεμνοπροσωπήσας: borrowed from Arist. *Clouds* 363.

15–16 [248–9] These lines ingeniously vary the vocabulary of 2–4.

16 [249] '... if your breathing ceases to be rapid from <the effects of> fever'.

17 [250] οὐκέτι τεθνήξει 'you will not go on to die'. On this use of οὐκέτι see Dawe on Soph. *O.T.* 115.

19 [252] τὸν νομικόν 'your solicitor'.

21 [254] προρρήσιος = προγνώσεως.

22 [255] 'Leave me heir to one third of your estate.'

15

Proclus' nose is so long that his hand is too small to wipe it, and his ears are too far away to hear it sneeze. Physical defects are a common subject for satirical epigrams.

2 [257] It is not clear why having the hand smaller than the nose should prevent the nose being wiped. The joke would perhaps be better if the end of the nose were too far away to reach (μακροτέρην: see LSJ s.v. μακράν, *AP* 11.406.2); but then one might expect the nose to be described as far from the hand rather than vice versa.

3 [258] "Ζεῦ, σῶσον" 'bless me!' – in Greece apparently spoken by the sneezer rather than (or as well as) by the bystander. Sneezes were thought ominous: cf. *Od.* 17.541, Theoc. 7.96 with Gow's n., Cat. 45.8–9.

πταρῆι: 3rd pers. aor. subj. of πταίρω.

16

On a man who twice married unseasonably.

On Leonides' isopsephic epigrams see p. 84 and cf. *188–9*. In this poem each couplet totals 7,246. Except perhaps for ποτε in line 3, there is nothing to suggest that Leonides is writing under extra constraint. Most of his epigrams have a similar fluency.

2 [261] Παφίηι: i.e. in sexual matters. Paphos in Cyprus was a famous cult-centre of Aphrodite.

3 [262] ποτε 'at one time'. τότε, perhaps preferable for the sense, would ruin the isopsephy.

σπείρων ἐς ἄκαρπα: his first wife was too old for childbearing.

4 [263] ἀμφοτέρων: wife and children. His new wife is unfaithful, so that he has 'married for ⟨the benefit of⟩ others'.

17

A fisherman throws an octopus ashore, where it entangles a hare.

Many of the so-called epideictic ('showing off') epigrams in book 9 of the *Anthology* present paradoxical or piquant situations. Here there are several surprises: catch becomes capturer (7); slow defeats quick; animals from different elements are grotesquely juxtaposed. In vocabulary Antiphilus aims for elegant preciosity.

4 [267] βρύγδην, 'tightly', is found only here. It is cognate with βρύκω, 'clench the teeth'.

ὀκτατόνους ἕλικας 'its eight stretching tentacles', lit. 'eight-stretched spirals', a curious expression.

5 [268] δειλά: a transferred epithet: hares are notoriously timid, and πτώξ (6) is from πτώσσω, 'cower'.

7 [270] εἷλε δ' ἁλούς: cf. the words of Hector, *Il.* 22.253 ἕλοιμί κεν ἤ κεν ἁλοίην. Here, however, the point is a different one, a reversal of proverbial phrases of the 'biter bit' type: cf. Horace, *Epist.* 2.1.156 *Graecia capta ferum uictorem cepit*, with Brink's note.

18

Another epideictic exercise in paradoxical ingenuity, this time compressed into a single couplet. The situation may derive from a fable or folktale. The theme is discussed by O. Weinreich, 'Zu antiken Epigrammen und einer Fabel des Syntipas', *A.I.Ph.O.* 11 (1951) 417–67.

1 [272] ἔλιπε βρόχον: we understand that he was about to hang himself, probably from a tree, in despair at his poverty.

2 [273] ἧψεν: sc. to his neck.

19

A clever epideictic address to a flagon in terms equally applicable to a bibulous woman. A climax of ingenuity is reached in the final couplet, where ἀνύμφευτος plays on the two meanings of νύμφη ('water' and 'bride'), and the homophony of πόσις, 'drink', and πόσις, 'husband', is exploited.

1 [274] καπηλικὰ μέτρα φιλεῦσα 'lover of the inn-keeper's measures'. The flagon is used for bringing back wine from wine-shops.

2 [275] εὔλαλε: 'of the cheerful sound of liquor when poured' (Gow/Page).

Similarly **πρηΰγελως**, **εὔστομε** and **μακροφάρυξ** refer to the flagon's mouth and neck.

3 [276] πενίης βραχυσύμβολε μύστι: the flagon, which 'brings a small contribution' to parties at which wine was provided by the guests, is an 'initiate' in its owner's poverty, i.e. it knows well how poor he is by the small amount which it carries for him.

4 [277] We are not told why the poet has been without his flagon. 'The language has a Tragic ring; ποτέ with ἦλθες, ὅμως with χρόνιος' (Gow/Page), but there is no doubt an allusion to the commonly described situation of the poet awaiting his mistress.

ποτε 'at last': LSJ s.v. III.1.b.

5 [278] αἴθ' ὄφελες . . . παρείης: the optative is not found elsewhere in this construction, and ἀφελής ('simple', i.e. 'unmixed') or παρεῖναι for παρείης may be right.

ἄμικτος ἀνύμφευτός τε: unmixed with water (νύμφη: LSJ s.v. II.2). But μείγνυμι is a common euphemism for sexual intercourse (*228*n.), and ἀνύμφευτος = 'unmarried'.

6 [279] ἄφθορος: of wine, 'unadulterated'; of a girl, 'virgin', 'uncorrupted'.

20

Life a vale of tears – a common idea expressed with forceful disenchantment typical of Palladas.

1 [280] δακρύσας 'with a last lamentation', having bewailed his miserable life.

3 [282] πολυδάκρῡτον: a false quantity, easily emended to πολυδάκρῠον; but Palladas may have known the -τ- form from *Il.* 17.192, where many MSS have the same error.

4 [283] 'Drawn down and undergoing dissolution beneath the earth', if συρόμενον is sound. From lines 1–2 one might have expected the last line to refer to both birth and death, not to death alone: hence the conjectures φαινόμενον and φυόμενον. But κατὰ γῆς is then difficult to understand.

21

A description of a beautiful grove bearing the name of Eros.

Descriptions of such settings, often combined as here with an invitation to passers-by to sit and take their ease, are common in the *Anthology* (cf. e.g. *AP* 9.313 = *HE* 726–9 (Anyte 16) = *HA 1696–9*) and were a stock item in the poetic repertory (Horace, *Ars* 16 with Brink's n., Persius 1.70). This is one of a pair of epigrams by Marianus describing a park beside the river Iris in the Pontic region. The poem's erotic and descriptive imagery (6, 7–8 nn.) mingles water and foliage in imitation of the luxuriant and refreshing scene.

3–4 [286–7] I.e. ὅπου χλωρὸν αὐτόρρυτον ὕδωρ καλὰ (adv.) ἐκπρορέει πολυκρούνων στομάτων ἐς μέσον πλατάνων.

χλωρόν: because of the overhanging greenery.

αὐτόρρυτον 'flowing of its own accord', 'natural': cf. *P. Oxy.* 1795.11 = *HA 1715*.

5 [288] πορφυρέης: an odd epithet for αὔλακος, unless the reference is to ἴον (6).

αὔλακος 'ground' rather than 'furrows'. The companion poem speaks of εὔβοτρυν ἀν' ὀργάδα καρπὸν ἐλαίης (*AP* 9.668.9), and Hecker's ὀργάδος ('meadow') would be possible here.

6 [289] ὑγρόν 'soft'. This word, together with κιρνάμενον, brings to the imagery another aspect of the scene.

ἴον: violets are a standard component of idyllic landscape descriptions (e.g. *Hom. Hymn to Dem.* 6, Longus 4.2.6).

7–8 [290–1] The water images continue with δροσεροῖο λειμῶνος and ἔκχυτον . . . κόμην. Note, too, the hair imagery in εὐχαίτης, ἔπλεξε, and κόμην; cf. 9 λασίην ('overgrown').

10 [293] 'Brushing past the edge of a natural grove.'

11 [294] τί . . . ἄλλο καί . . . οὔνομα = τί καὶ ἄλλο ὄνομα, 'what *other* name?'

22

It is fair spring weather, and sailors may safely set out provided only that they first sacrifice to Priapus.

The poem is probably to be imagined as spoken by the god himself. It is one of three contemporary and very similar pieces written as variations on this common theme; the others are by Agathias and Paulus Silentiarius (*AP* 10.14, 15). This poem, like the last, is an exercise in elegant and evocative description.

1–2 [296–7] 'Already the cornfield, as it gives birth to a good crop, is producing flowers from its rose-buds.' Such at least seems to be the meaning.

3 [298] ἰσοζυγέων 'planted in pairs'? 'With symmetrical branches'?

6 [301] ξεινοδοκεῖ: the nest is a temporary lodging.

7–8 [302–3] γαλήνης . . . νώτοις: modelled on the Homeric νῶτα θαλάσσης (*Il.* 2.159, etc.).

8 [303] εὔδια: adverbial.

9 [304] κορύμβοις: the decoration on a ship's stern, or the stern itself: a word of disputed meaning.

11 [306] ποντομέδοντι καὶ ὁρμοδοτῆρι: Priapus was originally a local god of Lampsacus on the Hellespont; many epigrams in the *Anthology* speak of him as patron of harbours and fishermen.

12 [307] τευθίδος 'squid'.

τρίγλης ἀνθεμόεσσαν ἴτυν 'the flowery curve of a red mullet', a phrase so elegant as to be almost unintelligible. The 'curve' must refer to the round shape of the fish, and 'flowery' to its rosy hue.

13 [308] σκάρον αὐδήεντα: the parrot-wrasse, whose 'voice' is in fact only a noisy ejection of water from its mouth.

14 [309] τέρμα: they may safely sail to the farthest point of the Aegean.

23

Book 14 of the *Anthology* is a collection of verse riddles, oracles, and arithmetical problems. Most are anonymous and of uncertain date. This epigram deals with letters rather than numbers, posing a question to which the answer is ΠΟΥϹ/ΟΥϹ/ΥϹ/Ϲʹ (Ϲʹ = 200).

2 [311] κεφαλῆς . . . ἄλλο μέρος: i.e. another bodily part, this time belonging to the head.

4 [313] μόνον: sc. ὄντα με.

IV

Quintus Smyrnaeus

Quintus' *Posthomerica* and the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus (pp. 121–4) are the only long mythological epics to survive from the Imperial period. Whether the styles of these two writers, who stand perhaps 200 years apart, represent respectively continuations of the traditional and the avant-garde schools of Hellenistic epic, is a fundamentally important but still unresolved question: the scanty papyrus fragments that exist from other epics do not make it possible to trace developments in the genre. Nor can it be certainly determined whether Quintus had read the *Aeneid* and other Latin poetry, or whether Nonnus was directly influenced by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: many scholars have suspected Latin influence, but current opinion prefers to assume Greek sources, now lost, to which writers in both languages had access.

Quintus probably lived in the third century. Our only source for biographical information is 12.308–13, where, before his catalogue of

the warriors who hid inside the Wooden Horse, the poet invokes the Muses and continues

> ὑμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσάν μοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκατ᾽ ἀοιδήν,
> πρίν γέ μοι ἀμφὶ πάρεια κατασκίδνασθαι ἴουλον,
> Σμύρνης ἐν δαπέδοισι περικλυτὰ μῆλα νέμοντι
> τρὶς τόσον Ἕρμου ἄπωθεν ὅσον βοόωντος ἀκοῦσαι,
> Ἀρτέμιδος περὶ νηὸν Ἐλευθερίωι ἐνὶ κήπωι,
> οὔρεϊ οὔτε λίην χθαμαλῶι οὔθ᾽ ὑψόθι πολλῶι.

('For you placed in my mind all my poetic art, at a time before down shadowed my cheeks, as I pastured my famous flocks in the land of Smyrna, only three shouts' distance from the River Hermus, around Artemis' temple in Freedom Gardens, on a mountain neither too low nor too high.') The poet's investiture is a common theme (see p. 72), and critics have been wary of taking literally Quintus' claim to have been initiated into poetry while shepherding his flocks: the lines clearly allude to the most famous such investiture, Hesiod's encounter with the Muses while he was a shepherd on Mt Helicon (*Theog.* 22–34). Moreover, the allusion itself echoes words employed in Callimachus' reference to the Hesiodic investiture at the beginning of his *Aetia* (μῆλα νέμοντι < Call. fr. 2.1). The fact that Smyrna was a reputed birthplace of Homer has led some scholars to suspect that in claiming to come from there Quintus is stating his poetical affiliation rather than telling the literal truth. The significance of lines 311–12 is lost; but the description of the mountain as neither too high nor too low is clearly programmatic, implying that the poem is written in a middle style that avoids extremes (χθαμαλός = *humilis*, ὑψόθι = *sublimis*).

Neither sublime nor pedestrian, Quintus bases his style on that of Homer while avoiding controversial words and metrical irregularities. He adopts and adapts Homeric epithets and formulas to produce modest innovation within traditional parameters. To avoid too much end-stopping he often has a sense-pause after the first word of a line (cf. 269, 272, 285, 287, etc.), a rhythm uncommon in Homer. His narrative, like that of other Imperial poets, is punctuated by gnomic asides and authorial generalisations (*901–2*, *935–7* nn.). In his speeches and set-piece descriptions the influence of contemporary rhetorical techniques is clear. He parades some, but not excessive, learning; and his gods, though similar in many ways to those of Homer, act with greater decorum. In these as in other respects his motto is μηδὲν ἄγαν.

In subject-matter, too, Quintus occupies the middle ground. His title, Οἱ μεθ᾽ Ὅμηρον λόγοι, implies that he will tell what happened 'after' the end of the *Iliad*; and the poem ends with the departure of the Greek fleet from Troy and the beginning of Odysseus' adventures. The *Posthomerica* is thus a supplementary work which stands between the Homeric poems. It treats stories first told in the Cyclic Epics of the archaic period, works which by the Imperial period had, it seems, been replaced as sources for these events by prose mythological handbooks such as the still extant *Library* of Apollodorus. How many other poets treated this same material is not known; but huge portmanteau epics such as the third-century Μεταμορφώσεις of Nestor of Laranda and the sixty-book Ἡρωϊκαὶ θεογαμίαι of his son Pisander, both now lost, attest to the popularity of long poems on mythological themes.

Many of the poem's 14 books (λόγοι) are structured as self-contained units. Book 1 has no proem, but continues from the last line of the *Iliad*. The chief episodes are: the arrival and death of Penthesilea (1), the arrival and death of Memnon (2), the death and burial of Achilles (3), funeral games for him (4), the award of his arms to Odysseus, and the suicide of Ajax (5), the arrivals of Eurypylus on the Trojan and Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, on the Greek side, the renewed fighting, and the death of Eurypylus (6–8), the arrival of Philoctetes (9), the deaths of Paris and Oenone (10), the fighting around Aeneas and the siege of Troy (11), the Wooden Horse and a theomachy (12), the capture of Troy (13), the sacrifice of Polyxena, the Greeks' departure, and the wrecking of their fleet (14).

As the *Iliad* looks forward to the death of Achilles and the fall of Troy through its narration of the deaths of Patroclus and Hector, so the *Posthomerica*, while describing those events, re-enacts by means of allusion notable scenes from the *Iliad*. Thus the deaths of Eurypylus and Paris echo the killing of Hector, the funeral games for Achilles resemble those for Patroclus, and the exploits of Neoptolemus parallel those of his heroic father. The pattern of fighting, too, is reminiscent of the *Iliad*: at one point the ships are almost burnt, but after the loss of their chief warriors the Trojans are on the defensive. Many smaller episodes contribute to the impression that the *Iliad* is a rehearsal for Quintus' poem.

Oenone and Paris. Legend told how at the time of his judging the contest of the goddesses Paris was married to Oenone. He abandoned her for Helen; but Oenone had prophesied that if he were to be wounded she alone would be able to cure him. Having received a poisoned wound from Philoctetes' bow, Paris begged Oenone to help him, but to no avail. After his departure she had a change of mind; but, arriving too late to save him, she committed suicide by hanging or by jumping from a tower.

The first known reference to Oenone was in the Τρωϊκά of the fifth-century historian Hellanicus (*FGH* 4 F 29). It seems likely that the story was made popular by one or more Hellenistic poets, to whom the details of her tragic love would have appealed. Some critics have argued that the bucolic setting, and the more than usually lively tone of Quintus' narrative here, indicate that some single Hellenistic poem is being closely imitated; but in fact Quintus seems to have used several literary sources, including Homer and Apollonius (283, 300–2, 309, 313–17, 365, 369–410, 415–20, 439, 454–7, 466, 483–6 nn.). He may even have innovated in not having Oenone change her mind, and in introducing a new method of suicide, borrowed from Euripides' account of Evadne (479–82 n.). (The only other surviving literary treatment of Oenone and Paris, Ovid's *Heroides* 5, is written from a quite different perspective.).

Although the tone of the Oenone episode and its passionate theme are not typical of the poem as a whole, certain features link these lines with aspects of the rest of the work. (i) Book 10, of which this is the final episode, resembles books 1, 2, 3, and 5 in ending with lamentation and burial. (ii) Oenone's suicide for love is reminiscent of, and goes beyond, two earlier episodes: at 5.500–20 Teucer, the step-brother of Ajax, is prevented from killing himself over his friend's body; and at 7.16ff. Podalirius has to be dissuaded at length from committing suicide on the tomb of his brother Machaon. (iii) The refusal of Oenone at the end of book 10 to heal Paris' wound, inflicted by Philoctetes, contrasts with Podalirius' ready healing of Philoctetes' own wound towards the end of book 9 (461–6).

Bibl.: Edn: F. Vian (3 vols., Budé, 1963–9). Gen.: F. Vian, *Recherches sur les* Posthomerica *de Quintus de Smyrne = Études et commentaires* 30 (Paris, 1959). Metre: West, *GM* 177–9.

>Tennyson, *The death of Oenone* (ed. C. Ricks (London and Harlow, 1969) 1427–30); William Morris, *The earthly paradise* vol. 5 (September).

259–331 [314–86] Wounded in the groin by a poisoned arrow from Philoctetes' bow, Paris lies sleepless. It has been foretold that only Oenone, his former wife, will have the power to cure him. Ill-omened birds accompany his journey to her home on Mt Ida. He shows her his wound and makes a piteous appeal; but she, in a vindictively sarcastic speech, refuses her help and tells him to resort now too to Helen. But by rejecting him in this way Oenone sealed her own fate.

259 [314] οὐχ ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε: *Il.* 24.679, etc.

θοόν: this adjective is almost exclusively poetic, and Quintus uses it very often for epic colour: cf. 367, where the meaning is unclear. Here too its sense is uncertain. (i) The usual meanings, 'nimble' or 'swift', are inappropriate, since Paris is lying wounded. It seems possible, however, that the expression θοὸν Πάριν might be used after the manner of descriptive phrases in Homer, where for example Achilles can be 'swift-footed' even when stationary. An objection to this interpretation is that Paris is not in fact called θοός elsewhere in the poem. (ii) The juxtaposition of ἔμαρπτε and θοόν suggests the conceit that Paris was too 'swift' to be 'caught up' by sleep. The reference may therefore be to his general physical restlessness: he is not bedridden, and at 264 he goes off to find Oenone. (iii) Vian understands the word to mean 'restless in spirit', 'uneasy'. At 3.661 the MSS read ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε θοὴν Θέτιν; but there it is easy to emend to θεὴν Θέτιν (a phrase found at 5.3, 638). At 1.706 we find θοὸς νόος of a wavering mind; but that is poor support for θοός alone meaning 'uneasy in mind'. And so, despite the apparent coincidence with 3.661, this otherwise unattested sense should perhaps be adopted only with caution.

ἄχρις ἐς ἠῶ implies that he was sleepless all night, not that he finally fell asleep at dawn.

260 [315] οἵ . . . ἄλαλκε: the unexpressed object is 'his suffering'.

261 [316] αἴσιμον ἦεν: *Il.* 15.274, etc. Other sources tell us that Oenone herself made the prophecy (Parthenius 4, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.6, Conon 23); but Quintus refers to an oracle (263).

262 [317] μόρον καὶ Κῆρας ἀλύξαι: cf. the common Homeric θάνατον καὶ Κῆρας ἀλύξαι (*Il.* 21.565, etc.).

263 [318] ἤν ἐθέλῃι 'if she should consent to do so'. Cf. 294. This is to be a difficult interview for both, and Paris is himself reluctant (264 οὐκ ἐθέλων). ἤν and the present subjunctive are retained from the original prophecy, though normal grammar would expect εἰ ἐθέλοι after ἦεν in past sequence.

θεοπροπίῃισι πιθήσας: cf. *Il.* 6.183 θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας.

264 [319] ὀλοὴ δέ μιν ἦγεν ἀνάγκη: perhaps modelled on *Il.* 6.458 κρατερὴ δ' ἐπικείσετ' ἀνάγκη.

265 [320] κουριδίης εἰς ὦπα 'into his wife's presence', i.e. face to face with her.

265–6 [320–1] λυγροὶ . . . ὄρνιθες: birds whose mournful cries were taken to be of ill omen.

266 [321] κὰκ κορυφῆς 'above his head'; a Homeric phrase (κὰκ κορυφήν, *Il.* 8.83; for the gen. cf. the common κὰκ κεφαλῆς). κάκ is κάτ, the short form of κατά, with its final consonant assimilated to the following κ: cf. 299 καλλείψηις.

266–7 [321–2] ἀνὰ χεῖρα | σκαιήν 'on his left-hand side' – the opposite of Homer's well-omened δεξιὸς ὄρνις (*Il.* 13.821, etc.).

267–8 [322–3] ἄλλοτε . . . ὁτέ 'at one time . . . at another'.

269 [324] εἴδετο 'believed', a meaning unattested for εἴδομαι except at Ap. Rh. 1.718 and 1024, where the form εἴσαντο has a similar sense. Whether that is sufficient defence for εἴδετο here seems doubtful; and εἰδ- may have been corrupted under the influence of δειδ- directly above. Pauw substituted the entirely regular ἔλπετο.

ὑπ' seems to be used instrumentally here, but it is not easy to translate. The overall meaning must be 'a painful death'.

270 [325] Oenone lived at a distance in the region of Mt Ida, as we discover at 332. It was there that she first met Paris when he was shepherding his father's flocks.

272 [327] πέσεν παρὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός: cf. *Il.* 19.110 (of the birth of a child) πέσηι μετὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός.

After 272 one or more lines are missing in surviving MSS. No doubt Paris showed his wound to Oenone. The noun qualified by ἀμφιμέλαιν' (e.g. 'wound') and its verb (e.g. 'was') are lost.

273 [328] ἀμφιμέλαιν' 'black all around', a Homeric adjective. Here the MSS have ἀμφὶ μέλαιν'. Critics have long debated whether it should be written as one word or two, but in the present context it is not easy to see how adverbial ἀμφί could fit into the partially missing sentence without strain to the word order (see 272 n.).

μέχρις ἱκέσθαι: occasionally μέχρις is found with the infinitive instead of the more usual indicative or subjunctive with ἄν.

274 [329] λιπόωντα 'fat', 'greasy'.

274–5 [329–30] οὕνεκα . . . φωτός 'because the dreadful poison was making his stomach gangrenous in the area where his skin had been pierced', i.e. the infection had spread from stomach to bone to inmost marrow.

κατ' οὐτάμενον χρόα φωτός: cf. *Il.* 12.427 οὐτάζοντο κατὰ χρόα; but χρόα φωτός is a quotation from *Il.* 4.139, where Menelaus is the victim and Paris the archer.

276 [331] Cf. *Od.* 10.78 τείρετο δ' ἀνδρῶν θυμός, *Il.* 9.9 ἄχεϊ μεγάλωι βεβολημένος ἦτορ, Ap. Rh. 1.1216 ἀνίηι βεβολημένος. βεβολημένος, 'stricken', is a so-called 'o-grade' perf. pass. of 'a-grade' βάλλω (cf. βολή, etc.); the more usual form is βεβλημένος, the 'zero-grade' with no vowel between β and λ.

277–81 [332–6] His symptoms were like those of a raging, thirsty fever. That is because the tips of Heracles' arrows, inherited by Philoctetes, had been dipped in the hydra's gall (χολή, yellow bile: cf. 279); and a preponderance of χολή, a hot, dry humour, was thought by some to be the cause of fever.

277 [332] μέγα: adverbial, perhaps qualifying ἀργαλέηι rather than αἰθόμενος.

278 [333] ἀδινὸν κέαρ: acc. of respect with αἰθόμενος. In Homer (*Il.* 16.481, *Od.* 19.516) the phrase is of debated meaning; perhaps 'quickly beating' or 'compact', 'solid'.

αὐαίνηται: in Homer similes introduced by ὡς ὅτε have the generic

subjunctive ('as happens when . . .'), but later clauses are often in the indicative (here 279 φλέγει, 280 πεπότηται): Goodwin, *GMT* §§544, 547.

279–81 [334–6] The man's soul hovers at his lips, i.e. he seems on the verge of breathing his last.

279 [334] νωθής 'sluggish', i.e. languishing.

280 [335] Cf. *Od.* 11.222 ψυχὴ . . . ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.

281 [336] βιότου 'life', not 'food'.

283 [338] ὀλιγοδρανέων: used by Homer to introduce the last words of Patroclus and of Hector (*Il.* 16.843, 22.337; cf. 15.246).

ποτὶ . . . ἔειπεν: tmesis.

284 [339] ὦ γύναι αἰδοίη: words used several times in the *Odyssey* in addresses to Penelope (17.152, etc.).

287 [342] μιγῆναι 'come into contact with': 2nd aor. mid. infin. of μείγνυμι.

289 [344] Cf. *Il.* 18.186 ἀθανάτων, οἳ Ὄλυμπον . . . ἀμφινέμονται.

291 [346] ἤπιον ἔνθεο θυμόν: cf. *Il.* 9.639 (Ajax's appeal to Achilles) ἵλαον ἔνθεο θυμόν (at line-end).

292 [347] ἀλεξήσοντα: sc. ἄχος from 291.

293 [348] μεμόρηται 'are destined', 3rd sing. perf. mid. of μείρομαι with neut. pl. subject.

θυμοῦ: probably governed by ἀπ- rather than dependent on ἄλγεα.

294 [349] σῇσιν γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσίν 'it depends on you' (sc. ἐστί), in prose ἐπὶ σοί ἐστιν.

295 [350] θανάτοιο δυσηχέος 'ill-sounding (ἠχή) death' or 'death bringer of woe (ἄχος)', a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 16.442, etc.).

εἴ τε καὶ οὐκί: Homeric.

296 [351] ὠκυμόρων . . . ἰῶν 'arrows that bring swift death'; *Il.* 15.440–1 ἰοί | ὠκύμοροι.

297 [352] ἐξάκεσ(αι): aor. imper. of ἐξακέομαι, 'heal completely', here 'counteract'.

ἀμφί: sc. ἐστί.

298 [353] ἔμπης 'in any case'.

300–2 [355–7] Λιτῇς: cf. *Il.* 9.502–12 (Phoenix to Achilles; cf. 291 n.) καὶ γάρ τε Λιταί εἰσι, Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο, κτλ., where they are said to arrange punishment (303 Ἐρινύν; in Homer Ἄτη) for those who do not repent previous stubbornness or folly, and in particular for those who do not listen to their appeals. Oenone will finally die in remorse.

301 [356] καὶ αὐταί: καὶ αὐτός is often used in epic for simple αὐτός. 'They are themselves the daughters of Zeus.'

Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο: *Il.* 12.235, etc.

303 [358] ἐξόπιθε 'in the future' (ἐξοπίσω in Homer), a meaning not given by LSJ.

ἐπιθύνουσιν 'direct against (ἐπ-)' their victims.

304 [359] ἀλλά often introduces a closing prayer.

305 [360] παρήλιτον: 1st sing. aor. act. of παραλιταίνω, 'do wrong'. There is an echo of Ap. Rh. 2.246 παρήλιτες ἀφραδίῃσι.

309 [364] κάλλιπες ἐν μεγάροισιν: she scornfully adapts Paris' plea μηδέ τί με . . . καλλείψῃς θανέεσθαι (298–9). There is an echo, too, of *Il.* 24.725–6 (Andromache's lament for Hector) κὰδ δέ με χήρην | λείπεις ἐν μεγάροισι (cf. *1079* n.).

ἀάσπετα: formed by analogy with Homeric ἀάσχετος, etc. (a form of diectasis: see 434 n.).

310–11 [365–6] ᾗι παριαύων | τέρπεο καγχαλόων: Paris is described as καγχαλόων, 'exulting', at *Il.* 6.514 as he makes a fine arrival on the battlefield. The rest of Quintus' words echo *Il.* 9.336–7 (Achilles speaking of Agamemnon with Briseis) τῆι παριαύων | τερπέσθω. This allusion, and the tense of ἐστί (311), suggest that τέρπεο is present imperative ('. . . Helen – go off and sleep exultantly with *her*'): καγχαλόων must in that case be taken as highly sarcastic. It is possible, however, that τέρπεο is imperfect indicative ('. . . Helen – in whose arms you used exultantly to sleep'), which seems to fit καγχαλόων better, and to follow on more naturally from the relative ᾗι (as opposed to τῆι, beginning a new sentence).

311 [366] ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φερτέρη ἐστί: a common Homeric expression.

312 [367] φάτις: sc. ἐστί.

ἀγήρω 'unageing'. The expected form would be ἀγήρων, since

ἀγήρως is a 2nd decl. adj., contracted from ἀγήραος. Here ἀγήρω as if from a 3rd decl. -ως ending (ἥρως, acc. ἥρω, etc.). See West on Hes. *Theog.* 949.

313–17 [368–72] These lines allude to Achilles' rejection of Hector's supplication at *Il.* 22.345–7 μή με, κύον, γούνων γουνάζεο . . . | αἲ γάρ πως αὐτόν με μένος καὶ θυμὸς ἀνείη | ὤμ' ἀποταμνόμενον κρέα ἔδμεναι, οἷα ἔοργας; and perhaps to *Il.* 24.212–13, where Hecuba wishes that she could devour Achilles' liver. Quintus tones down Homer's cannibal references with the words θηρὸς . . . μένος, which bring the lines closer to the status of a simile. In doing so he follows some ancient interpreters of the Homeric passage, who thought that Achilles' words were unseemly if taken at face value.

313 [368] ἐσσύμενος sarcastically echoes Paris' ἐσσυμένως at 305.
περ emphasises μοι.

316 [371] αἷμα λαφύξαι: *Il.* 11.176, 18.583 (of lions).

317 [372] πιθήσας: a variant aorist participle of πείθω (formed as if from πιθέω) used occasionally in poetry from Homer onwards.

318 [373] ἐυστέφανος Κυθέρεια: *Od.* 18.193, etc. Aphrodite gave Helen to Paris in return for his judging her fairest of the goddesses.

319 [374] γαμβροῖο 'son-in-law': Helen was a daughter of Zeus.
ἀκάματος: in Homer this word is used only of fire, but Quintus applies it frequently to gods, giants, etc.

321–2 [376–7] πῆμ' ἀλεγεινόν perhaps sarcastically echoes Paris' ἄχος δ' ἀλεγεινόν (291).
ἀλιτρέ may similarly echo his παρήλιτον (305).

324 [379] ἀλλά μοι ἔρρε δόμοιο echoes Paris' ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρε τάχιστα (296).

325 [380] ἧς governs λεχέεσσι (326).
νυκτός τε καὶ ἤματος: Homeric.

326 [381] τρύζειν 'murmur', 'complain': cf. *Il.* 9.311 (Achilles to Odysseus) ὡς μή μοι τρύζητε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, the only occurrence of the word in Homer.
πεπαρμένον: perf. pass. part. of πείρω, 'pierce'. Cf. *Il.* 5.399 ὀδύνῃσι πεπαρμένος.

ἄλγεϊ λυγρῶι: cf. *Il.* 13.346.

328 [383] φίλων 'her (own)', a Homeric usage: cf. 423.

330 [385] Κῆρες: as Paris had warned her (304); cf. 428–9, 449.

331 [386] ἐσσυμένως: in series with 305, 313.
ὥς γάρ οἱ ἐπέκλωσεν: *Od.* 16.64, also of the spinning (ἐπικλώθω) of fate.
Διὸς αἶσα: *Il.* 17.321.

In lines 332–60, omitted here, Hera, enemy of the Trojans, happily speaks of her knowledge of the events that will follow the death of Paris.

365 [390] εἰσέτι που: this impressionistic or distancing use of the particle που is characteristic of Hellenistic narrative, and in particular of Apollonius (cf. 454, 460). Here the subject and setting are reminiscent of e.g. the death of Daphnis in Theocritus' first *Idyll*.

366 [391] ἐξέτι νηπιάχοιο 'ever since boyhood'. As a young prince Paris had tended his father's flocks on Mt Ida, and it was there that he judged the divine beauty contest.

367 [392]: the rhythm is lugubriously spondaic.
θοοί: 259 n.

Lines 369–410, omitted here, contain laments by Hecuba and Helen modelled on those which they voiced for Hector at *Il.* 24.748–59 and 762–75. At 411 the narrative moves back to Oenone.

411–89 [394–472] Oenone, stricken with bitter anguish and remorse, decides to end her life. She rushes wildly through the mountains until she finds the funeral pyre, and leaps into the flames. The Nymphs lament Paris' folly in abandoning her for Helen. The remains of the pair are buried together.

411 [394] οἴη: the lines preceding this passage closed with the reflection, borrowed from *Il.* 19.302, that in mourning Paris the other Trojan women were in fact grieving for their own dead menfolk. Oenone, we are told, was the only mourner to grieve for him 'from the heart'.
θυμοῖο . . . κυδαλίμοιο: cf. *Il.* 12.45, 18.33 κυδάλιμον κῆρ.

414 [397] κεῖτο βαρὺ στενάχουσα: *Il.* 23.60 κεῖτο βαρὺ στενάχων.

415–20 [398–403] 'Just as in high mountain thickets there hardens into ice snow which, let fall by the squalls of Zephyrus, besprinkles the many hollows; and the tall peaks all around are wetted [sc. because they are more exposed to the sun], pouring with watery streams; and the ice in the valleys, despite its great mass, melts into chilly water as a spring [sc. fed by melting snow from the peaks] gushes forth on to it.' ξύλοχοι (415), ἄγκεα (416), and νάπαι (419) all refer to the mountain-side valleys: in their shady depths snow lodges and turns to ice before being melted by water from snow already melting higher up. Quintus is inspired here by *Od.* 19.204–8 (Penelope weeping) ὡς δὲ χιὼν κατατήκετ' ἐν ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν, | ἥν τ' Εὖρος κατέτηξεν, ἐπὴν Ζέφυρος καταχεύῃ, | τηκομένης δ' ἄρα τῆς ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες· | ὣς τῆς τήκετο καλὰ παρήια δάκρυ χεούσης. It is noticeable that Quintus varies his vocabulary here, in contrast with the repeated τηκ- verbs in Homer: cf. 420n.

415 [398] περιτρέφεται κρύσταλλος: borrowed from *Od.* 14.477.

416 [399] ἄγκεα . . . παλύνει: cf. *Il.* 10.7 χιὼν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας.

419 [402] δεύονθ': δεύονται. Quintus does not often elide declinable words.

420 [403] κρυερὸν περιτήκεται ὕδωρ rounds off the simile with a varied echo of the opening περιτρέφεται κρύσταλλος.

425 [408] ᾧ σύν: σύν occasionally follows its noun (e.g. *Od.* 15.410 Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν).

ἐώλπειν 'I had hoped', 1st sing. pluperf. ind. act. of ἔλπω/ἔλπομαι.

426 [409] βιότου . . . οὐδόν 'the threshold of life', i.e. the threshold which we cross when leaving life and entering death; cf. 10.102 ἐφ' ὑστατίῃ βιότοιο. But βιότου, a conjecture for the MS ποτί, is not completely satisfactory: 'life's threshold', an expression not found elsewhere, ought to refer to the beginning of life; ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ, by contrast, is a common phrase. Vian conjectured περ ἐπί, taking κλυτὸν οὐδόν, 'the well known threshold', to refer to the threshold of death; this seems just possible, given γήραϊ at the beginning of the line. (θανάτου or Ἀΐδεω would make good sense, though elsewhere Quintus has only Ἀΐδαο and Ἄϊδος as genitive forms.)

427 [410] αἰὲν ὁμοφρονέουσα is an echo of Odysseus' wish for Nausicaa that the gods should give her ἄνδρα τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην (*Od.* 6.181): he goes on to say that there is nothing better than agreement between husband and wife (181–3).

θεοὶ δ' ἑτέρως ἐβάλοντο 'the gods arranged things differently': cf. *Od.* 1.234 νῦν δ' ἑτέρως ἐβόλοντο (= ἐβούλοντο) θεοί, where some MSS have ἐβάλοντο: clearly Quintus has adopted this Homeric variant reading. For the meaning see LSJ s.v. βάλλω B.1.

428–9 [411–12] 'Would that black Death had snatched me off at the time (τότε) when I was about to be away from Paris' (i.e. I wish that I had died before he could have left me). With ποτε (MSS) the overall sense is less appropriate, and ὁππότε has to have the highly unusual meaning 'because': 'would that black Death had snatched me off at some time, since I was fated to be away from Paris'.

428 [411] ὥς μ' ὄφελον . . . ἀνηρείψαντο: in later Greek ὄφελον (neut. aor. part. of ὀφείλω) or ὡς ὄφελον can be followed by an indicative – that is, they are treated as if they were adverbs after the pattern of εἴθε. The Homeric construction is (ὡς/εἴθε/αἴθε) ὤφελον/-ες/-ε etc. with the infinitive.

430 [413] ζωός: i.e. not by death.

431 [414] θανέειν: in apposition to μέγα . . . ἔργον.

εὔαδεν = ἔϝαδεν, an epic aorist of ἁνδάνω. Greek sometimes uses the aorist to describe a state resulting from a specific past action: cf. Goodwin, *GMT* §60.

434 [417] μνωομένη is derived from μνάομαι by (i) contraction (μναόμενος > μνώμενος), (ii) 'diectasis', addition of a vowel to restore the original scansion.

435 [418] πατέρα σφόν: the river-god Cebren. In one version of the myth he forbade Oenone to help Paris (Tzetzes on Lycophron 61).

ἰδ': alternative form of ἠδέ, 'and'.

436 [419] μέχρις 'until'.

ἐπὶ χθόνα δῖαν: *Il.* 24.532.

437 [420] νὺξ ἐχύθη: for χέω used 'of things that obscure the sight' see LSJ s.v. III.2.

439 [422] ἀναρρήξασα: a surprisingly violent verb, used because Quintus is echoing the description of Phoenix's flight at *Il.* 9.475–6: there the word is more suitable, since the doors need to be broken down (θύρας . . . ῥήξας ἐξῆλθον). Homer mentions δμωιάς . . . γυναῖκας at *Il.* 9.477: cf. δμώων in the present line.

440 [423] ἔκθορεν 'she leapt away', aor. of ἐκθρώισκω.

441–5 [424–8] The simile describes a love-crazed heifer, heedless of control, that rushes to seek a mate. Oenone's love, heedless now of all but its object and unable to fulfil its desire, seeks consummation in shared death.

442 [425] ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι: *Il.* 16.342.

443 [426] οὔ τι goes with ταρβεῖ, not λιλαιομένη.

446 [429] Cf. *Hom. Hymn to Dem.* 380 ῥίμφα δὲ μακρὰ κέλευθα διήνυσαν, *Od.* 13.88 ὣς ἡ ῥίμφα θέουσα.

447 [430] πυρῆς ἐπιβήμεναι αἰνῆς: cf. *Il.* 9.546 πυρῆς ἐπέβησ' ἀλεγεινῆς.

450 [433] θῆρας . . . λαχνήεντας: from *Il.* 2.743.

452 [435] λασίων 'overgrown' (lit. 'hairy').

454–7 [437–40] The Moon, remembering her past love for Endymion, feels sympathy for Oenone and lights her way. This passage is indebted to Apollonius' description of Medea's flight from home (4.34–65): there, as she watches the fugitive hurrying along, the Moon remembers Endymion and mockingly prophesies that Medea will regret her marriage (54–65).

455 [438] Ἐνδυμίωνος: Selene fell in love with Endymion when she saw him asleep in a cave on Mt Latmus in Caria; Quintus has referred to the myth earlier in book 10 (128–32). The Moon is often invoked in Hellenistic and Roman poets as a sympathetic witness to love: cf. Philodemus, *Anth. Pal.* 5.123 (*HA 1622–7*).

457 [440] μακρὰς . . . κελεύθους: in 446 the neut. pl. κέλευθα is used. Both forms occur in Homer.

458–9 [441–2] καὶ ἄλλαι | Νύμφαι: Oenone, daughter of a river-god (435 n.), is herself a nymph.

462–3 [445–6] ἦρα φέροντες | ὑστατίην καὶ πένθος 'bringing a last service and grief' – hendiadys and zeugma, as Vian remarks. ἦρα φέροντες is a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 14.132, etc.).

463 [446] ὁμῶς . . . καί: probably 'both . . . and'; but ὁμῶς may qualify the pairing ἦρα and πένθος.

ἄνακτι: 366 n.

466 [449] This line is imitated from Ap. Rh. 4.44–5 (cf. 454–7 n.) πέπλον . . . ἀμφὶ μέτωπα | στειλαμένη καὶ καλὰ παρήια. There Medea wants to go unrecognised; but here Oenone's covering of her face is probably a gesture of shame or grief.

467 [450] Oenone is one of a number of Greek heroines who commit suicide in love, grief, or remorse. Her self-immolation on the pyre is probably borrowed by Quintus from the Euripidean Evadne (479–82 n.): other sources say either that she hanged herself or that she leapt from a tower (cf. Musaeus' Hero, *1078*). The Greeks had no equivalent of suttee, the Hindu custom which expected a widow to die on her husband's pyre.

ἐνέπαλτο: aor. mid. of ἐμπάλλω; but the meaning, 'leapt upon', suggests that Quintus, like several other poets, believed the word to be from ἅλλομαι (aor. ἆλτο).

γόον . . . ὄρινε: *Il.* 24.760 (Hecuba's lament).

469 [452] πεπτηυῖαν: acc. sing. fem. perf. part. of πίπτω.

470 [453] Speeches of the type 'Someone was heard to say' are used commonly in epic from Homer onwards to express general reactions of those present at a certain event. Cf. *Il.* 4.79–81 (the armies see a shooting-star) θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας | . . . | ὧδε δέ τις εἴπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον . . .

ποτὶ . . . ἔειπεν: tmesis: προσέειπεν.

478 [461] λελασμένοι ἠριγενείης echoes the Homeric λελασμένος ἱπποσυνάων, used with reference to the corpses of Cebriones and Achilles (*Il.* 16.776, *Od.* 24.40).

479–82 [462–6] Quintus' narrative of the last moments of Oenone has several echoes of Evadne's death-scene in the *Supplices* of Euripides (990–1079): see R. Goossens, *R.B.Ph.* 11 (1932) 679–89 (Vian III 11 n. 5). There Evadne commits suicide by leaping into the flames rising from the corpse of her husband Capaneus, one of the Seven against Thebes, who has been incinerated by Zeus's thunderbolt as punishment for his boastful arrogance.

479 [462] εὖτε 'just as', a Homeric variant form of ἠΰτε.

πάροιθεν: the expedition of the Seven took place about a generation before the siege of Troy.

480 [463] Ἀργεῖοι: the Argive army besieging Thebes.

481 [464] ἐπεκχυμένην 'stretched out upon' (ἐπεκχέω) her husband's body.

482 [465] This line is inspired by Eur. *Suppl.* 1011 πόσις, δαμασθεὶς λαμπάσιν κεραυνίοις: cf. 479–82 n.

483–6 [466–9] These lines echo the funeral rites for Patroclus at *Il.* 23.250–7 πυρκαϊὴν σβέσαν αἴθοπι οἴνῳ, | ὅσσον ἐπὶ φλὸξ ἦλθε, βαθεῖα δὲ κάππεσε τέφρη· | . . . ὀστέα λευκά | ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην . . . | . . . | τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα . . .

483 [466] πυρὸς . . . ῥιπή: *Il.* 21.12.

ἤνυσε: cf. *Od.* 24.71 (Achilles' funeral: cf. 478 n.) αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δή σε φλὸξ ἤνυσεν Ἡφαίστοιο.

484 [467] μιῇι ὑποκάββαλε τέφρηι: the fire 'had cast them under (reduced them to) one set of ashes'.

486 [469] κρητῆρι rather than φιάληι (483–6 n.) perhaps because it is important that their ashes were mingled (κρητήρ < κεράννυμι).

486–7 [469–70] Like many Hellenistic narratives, this section ends with an aetiology. The joint tomb is mentioned by Strabo (13.1.33), quoting the polymath Demetrius of Scepsis (2nd cent. BC).

488 [471] τετραμμέναι ἄλλυδις ἄλληι 'the one facing in one direction, the other in another'. The words are from *Od.* 5.71 (of four springs).

489 [472] φέρουσαι 'commemorating', 'telling of': LSJ s.v. φέρω IV.4, VIII.

V

Nonnus

Nonnus (mid-fifth century) was born in Egyptian Panopolis, one of the last bastions of pagan culture and learning in Late Antiquity (see p. 7). The only works which he is known to have written are the *Dionysiaca* and a hexameter paraphrase of St John's Gospel. Stylistic analysis suggests that the *Paraphrase* may be the earlier; but the *Dionysiaca* clearly lacks final revision. These two facts have seemed difficult to reconcile with an assumed conversion from paganism to Christianity, and have led scholars to make ingenious conjectures about Nonnus' life and the likely nature and order of his religious conversions. But the problem may be a false one. There is evidence that amongst intellectuals of the period it was not felt contradictory for a Christian to write heavily classicising works, and that allusion to and exploitation of traditional myths was not confined to pagan writers. It seems, then, that even if Nonnus was exclusively Christian, there is nothing to hinder the theory that he composed the *Paraphrase* first and then embarked on the more ambitious *Dionysiaca*, which he seems not to have revised fully. (But in this matter nothing is certain, and some scholars deny that the *Paraphrase* is by Nonnus.)

The *Dionysiaca* is the longest ancient poem to survive. Its lengthy preliminaries describe the antecedents of Dionysus' birth, including the wanderings of Cadmus and his foundation of Thebes, together with a flashback to the story of Zagreus, an earlier incarnation of the god (books 1–6); then comes Zeus's affair with Semele, daughter of Cadmus, and the birth of Dionysus after his mother's incineration (7–9), together with an account of his early exploits (10–12). The rest of the poem describes Dionysus' fight for recognition as a member of the pantheon in the face of hostility from Hera. Its central section (13–40) describes the war of the god and his Bacchic forces against the Indians and their king Deriades. The last eight books are a medley of Dionysiac myths, including various love stories (Beroe, Ariadne, Pallene, Aura) and a tragedy-length treatment of the Pentheus myth (44–6). The god's reception on Olympus, the culmination and climax of the whole work, is described summarily in only five lines at the end of book 48.

During the third and fourth centuries Dionysiac themes had been very popular in both literature and art. Dionysus' conquest of the east (a myth which had itself been fashioned in imitation of the Alexander legend) had to some extent been identified with the civilising mission of the Roman empire. Epics such as the two lost *Bassarica* of Dionysius and Soterichus must have provided Nonnus with material, and it is likely that he used the enormous sixty-book Ἡρωϊκαὶ θεογαμίαι by Pisander of Laranda, a hexameter compilation of tales of love and lust between gods and mortals, for details of Dionysus' erotic encounters. Some of these episodes owe a clear debt also to the Greek novel. But although Nonnus alludes in passing to a wide range of literature, two influences on his work are particularly important.

The most important point of reference for Nonnus is Homer, whose works are fundamental to the *Dionysiaca* on both large and small scales (299–301, 303, 329, 332, 412–532, 415, 474, 478, 498, 521, 524, 526, 549 nn.). (i) The fact that the poem has 48 books, the sum of the books of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, is an obvious indication of Nonnus' ambitiously compendious aims. (ii) The long second proem (25.1–270) is an extended comparison between on the one hand Dionysus and other sons of Zeus, and on the other Nonnus' poetry and that of Homer. At its close Nonnus calls Homer his πατήρ (265) and asks him for inspiration, but also implies that his own subject surpasses Homer's mortal heroes. This spirit of inspiration-cum-emulation characterises all aspects of Nonnus' attitude towards his poetic father, and the poet fights his own battle for recognition at the same time as he describes the analogous struggle of Dionysus. (iii) The Indian War (books 13–40) is clearly Nonnus' equivalent of the *Iliad*, while his hero resembles the hero of the *Odyssey* in his distant wanderings, his tireless pursuit of his rightful place, his encounters both erotic and martial, and his characteristic πολυτροπία. (iv) Nonnus has many episodes based on famous Homeric scenes: he has his own ecphrasis of a shield, a theomachy, catalogues, a battle between his hero and a river, funeral games, a Διὸς ἀπάτη, etc. In such episodes it is often his practice to begin with close imitation and/or quotation of the parallel Homeric scenes, but then to move gradually away from Homer as his narrative progresses. In this way he repeatedly re-enacts the process of escape from his great progenitor. (v) We have seen that Quintus of Smyrna makes a modest attempt to create his own formulas in imitation of the characteristically Homeric recurrent lines, phrases, and epithets (see p. 106). In this respect Nonnus is far more boldly innovative, fabricating a semi-formulaic style which both repeats phrases verbatim (378, 405, 469, 542 nn.) and permutates different combinations of nouns, verbs, and adjectives within recognisably formulaic expressions: when introducing direct speech, for example, he will combine the noun φωνή with a variety of verbs and adjectives (336 κινυρῆι βρυχήσατο φωνῆι, 414 ἀνδρομένηι φάτο φωνῆι, etc.). This new system, with its proliferating and endlessly varied lexical mutations, complements the irrepressible exuberance of Dionysus himself.

The second important influence is that of Hellenistic poetry. Nonnus lived, or claims to have lived, at Alexandria (1.13), and he probably had access to the enormous holdings of the Alexandrian library. Many of his episodes, particularly those of an erotic nature, are inspired by Hellenistic poems, few of which now survive (cf. below on Actaeon). The aesthetics of Hellenistic poetry are no less important: it is not by residence alone that Nonnus qualifies as an Alexandrian. Although the *Dionysiaca* is hardly a small-scale production, Nonnus' constant use of such typically Hellenistic techniques as literary allusion, eroticism, grotesquerie, digression, and scientific and mythological learning clearly shows that in many ways he is a true successor to such poets as Callimachus and Apollonius. The Oenone episode of Quintus (*314–472*) and ps.-Oppian's aetiological Dionysiac digression on the leopards (*1317–1439*) are examples of similar episodes in earlier Imperial poetry; but in Nonnus Hellenistic influence is more thoroughgoing.

Critics have often been struck by the contrast between the exuberance and inventiveness of Nonnus in respect of plot and diction, and the extreme strictness of his metre, in which he reduces to only nine the possible combinations of dactyls and spondees in the hexameter line. These restrictions in part continue trends begun by Callimachus and his followers, who regularised positions for word-end within the line, limited words of certain shapes to certain metrical positions, and began to avoid elision of declinable words (cf. 332, 423 nn.). To these refinements are added in Nonnus restrictions on the placement of words which result from the influence of accent on the perceived quantity of vowels and diphthongs (cf. 423 n. on his avoidance of proparoxytone words at line-end). The result is a conspicuous sameness of rhythm,

frequent end-stopping, lack of hiatus, little elision, and a preponderance of dactyls. Lines tend to be separate, internally balanced wholes (e.g. 328 n.).

At the beginning of his epic Nonnus introduces the changeful (ποικίλος) Proteus as emblem for his poetry: the watchword of Nonnian style will be ποικιλία, or variety, a word often used as a technical term in rhetoric. Such a style well suits an epic with a curiously changeful hero. Nonnian ποικιλία entails abrupt transitions between episodes, constant changes of tone, and variation in narrative pace. Proliferating compound adjectives make for a vividly pictorial and explicit effect. The speeches, which are generally separate monologues rather than conversations, show clearly the influence of contemporary rhetorical education; they strive for point and paradox, and resemble the rest of the narrative in their pursuit of immediate effect at the expense of consistency or characterisation. Nonnus' style is unmistakable in its luxuriating vivacity: it is as if the narrator himself is a raging – or proselytising – Bacchant.

Actaeon. The story of Actaeon, a huntsman who as punishment for seeing Artemis at her bath was turned into a stag and torn to pieces by his hounds, is told in book 5 as part of the history of Thebes before the birth there of Dionysus. Nonnus will have known several earlier poetic treatments of the myth. No doubt it featured in the lost Ἑτεροιούμενα of Nicander (*HA* p. 142–3), and perhaps in the Μεταμορφώσεις of Parthenius (first century BC) and Nestor of Laranda (second/third century AD). Apollodorus preserves an anonymous fragment of a passage describing Actaeon's hounds (*Bibl.* 3.4.4; *CA* pp. 71–2); and Callimachus' allusion to the tale at *h.* 5.107–18 is echoed several times by Nonnus (337–65, 337, 341–2, 546 nn.). Ovid's version (*Met.* 3.138–252), which follows an innovation of Callimachus in making Actaeon entirely innocent, is the only other detailed extant treatment; but Nonnus' account has few significant similarities (his Actaeon confesses guilt), and it seems in any case unlikely that he read Latin poetry (cf. on Quintus, p. 105).

Several features of his Actaeon narrative are typical of Nonnus: the bathing scene; the voyeuristic and voluptuously described encounter; the metamorphosis, with its opportunities for grotesquerie, paradox, and contrast; the dream-episode; and the transference of much of the narrative to non-realistic speeches which evoke pathos: the long address of Actaeon to his father (415–532) quotes the words of his hounds and of Artemis (459–72) at the time of his transformation, and follows a speech made by him when already a stag (337–65). Typical, too, is the fragmentation of the story, with Artemis' bathing described twice (303–7, 482–8) and much of the narrative told as a flashback. In general Nonnus is concerned not with smooth chronological progression, but with contriving maximum point and effect within individual tableaux and speeches.

Bibl.: Edn: R. Keydell (Berlin, 1959). Comm.: F. Vian *et al.* (Budé, Paris, 1976–, in progress; bks 3–5 P. Chuvin (1976)). Trans.: W. H. D. Rouse (Loeb, Cambridge, Mass./London, 3 vols., 1940). Gen.: P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1991); N. Hopkinson (ed.), *Studies on the Dionysiaca of Nonnus = P.C.P.S.* Suppl. 17 (Cambridge, 1994). Actaeon: J. Heath, *Actaeon* (Bern/Frankfurt/New York/Paris, 1992). Metre: P. Maas, *Greek metre* (Oxford, 1962) 62–5; West, *GM* 177–80.

287–8 [473–4] ἔνθεν . . . ἀνέτελλε: the preceding lines described how Cadmus gave his daughter Autonoe in marriage to Aristaeus, inventor of the arts of hunting, bee-keeping, and pressing olives.

288 [474] μενοινῇ 'eager desire' (LSJ), a noun not attested before the Hellenistic period but used frequently by Nonnus (cf. 373, 408).

289 [475] Ἀγρέος: Agreus, 'The Hunter', was a cult title of Apollo (and of Aristaeus himself – Pind. *Pyth.* 9.65, etc.). Cf. 466.

ἀπεμάξατο 'imitated': LSJ s.v. ἀπομάσσω III.

290 [476] οὐ νέμεσις: lit. 'it is no cause for anger that ...', i.e. 'it is hardly a matter for surprise that ...'

292 [478] Apollo fathered Aristaeus on Cyrene, a huntress nymph whose lion-wrestling aroused his admiration. The best-known version of the story is that of Pindar (*Pyth.* 9.1–75).

294 [480] The lioness with cubs was a paradigm of ferocity (Eur. *Med.* 187–8, Theoc. 26.21), and her glance was said to be particularly terrifying (Call. *h.* 6.52).

295 [481] ὑψιπότητον: boldly used of the leopard's upspringing leap.

296 [482] ἐπρήνιξεν 'laid low' (πρηνής = 'prone'), a rare verb used often by Nonnus.

ὑψόθι in later epic is often used prepositionally with the genitive ('up above in . . .'): cf. 303, *993*.

299–301 [485–7] The 'it was to no avail' theme is common in epic, but the present passage owes much to *Il.* 5.53–5 (the death of Scamandrius, a favourite of Artemis) ἀλλ' οὔ οἱ τότε γε χραῖσμ' Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα, | οὐδὲ ἑκηβολίαι, ᾗσιν τὸ πρίν γ' ἐκέκαστο, | ἀλλά μιν . . ., *via* Call. *h.* 5.111–12 = *HA 242–3* (Actaeon) ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὸν ὅ τε δρόμος αἵ τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι | ῥυσεῦνται ξυναὶ τᾶμος ἑκηβολίαι, κτλ.

300 [486] ὄρθιος 'straight', = ὀρθός: LSJ s.v. IV.

301 [487] κυνοσπάδα νεβρὸν ἀλήτην '⟨after he had become⟩ a wandering deer torn apart (σπάω) by hounds'. Nonnus uses ἀλήτης quasi-formulaically at the line-end to imply various sorts of movement.

302 [488] I.e. the death of Actaeon occurred soon after the Indian War (the long centrepiece of Nonnus' poem), in which he fought on the side of Dionysus.

303 [489] ὑψόθι φηγοῦ: 296 n. In Actaeon's own account the tree will be an olive (476). Here there is an echo of *Il.* 7.60, where Athena and Apollo, disguised as birds, watch the battle as they sit φηγῶι ἐφ' ὑψηλῆι.

305–6 [491–2] The repetition θηητήρ . . . ἀθηήτοιο (for which cf. 325 θηρητήρ . . . θηρήτορας) is reinforced by the word-play ἀκόρητος . . . κούρης: Actaeon cannot get his fill of looking at the 'girl'.

306 [492] διεμέτρεε 'sized up': a leisurely stare of 'measured' appraisal.

308 [494] δεδοκημένον 'watching', a Homeric word from the same root as δέκομαι (δέχομαι) and δοκέω.

ὄμματι . . . ὄμματι: if the text is sound, the unusual repetition emphasises the fact that Actaeon is both viewer and viewed (cf. 305–6 n.).

309 [495] ἀκρήδεμνος 'not wearing a headband' – a physical symptom of mental distraction, commonly used in descriptions of nymphs by Nonnus. Cf. 374.

315 [501] ἔκρυφε: κρύφω is a late by-form of κρύπτω.

316 [502] The pathos-filled address to a character is a device borrowed by Nonnus from Hellenistic poetry.

317 [503] πισύρων . . . χηλή: i.e. his feet became cloven, and four in number – a compressed expression.

320 [506] τανυπτόρθοιο 'wide-twigged', i.e. branching, antlers.

321 [507] νόθη 'not his own' – a thematic word in Nonnus, whose multiform Dionysiac poem includes many scenes of deception and metamorphosis.

322 [508] εἶχεν: after the vocative of 316 one would expect εἶχες; but the intervening third-person verbs have led back to the usual narrative structure.

ἀελλήεντι 'swift as the wind'.

323 [509] εἰσέτι . . . ἔμπεδος: only his mind remained fixed, i.e. the same as before. The words echo *Od.* 10.240 (of Odysseus' men turned by Circe into swine) αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.

326 [512] οὐκέτι . . . μάθον echoes the Callimachean ἀλλ' αὐταὶ τὸν πρὶν ἄνακτα κύνες | τουτάκι δειπνησεῦντι (*h.* 5.114–15 = *HA 245–6*).

327 [513] νεύμασιν ἀτρέπτοισι 'at the irreversible command of . . .': instrumental.

328 [514] 'Crazed by the madness-inspiring breath of frenzied fury.' The hounds are made rabid by Lyssa, a goddess of madness who is sometimes depicted hunting with a pack of hell-hounds (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 977 ἴτε θοαὶ Λύσσας κύνες, with Dodds's note) and whose name is cognate with λύκος. The line illustrates well Nonnus' lexical exuberance: chiastically arranged around a central participle (adj. a, adj. b: noun b, noun a), it includes five different words for madness and its effects.

ἄσθματι: the infectious breath of madness makes the hounds pant in fury.

329 [515] ὁμόζυγον ὄγμον ὀδόντων 'twin row of teeth' – a variant on the Homeric ἕρκος ὀδόντων.

332 [518] καὶ θεὸς ἄλλο νόησε: cf. *Od.* 2.393 ἔνθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. Nonnus has recast the Homeric phrase in accordance with his practice of avoiding elision of all declinable and most indeclinable words (cf. p. 123).

θεός can be used of female as well as of male divinities.

333 [519] κεκασμένον 'equipped with': perf. part. of καίνυμαι.

335 [521] ὑπὸ βροτέηι . . . μενοινῆι 'with human feeling': ὑπό + dat. 'of attendant circumstances' (LSJ s.v. B.4).

337–65 [523–51] The stag laments its fate. Nonnus specialises in pathetic and improbable *tours de force* of rhetoric delivered in curious circumstances. The opening lines of this speech are inspired by the speech of Athena to Tiresias' mother Chariclo in Callimachus' fifth *Hymn* (97–130 = *HA 228–61*): in reply to Chariclo's reproaches the goddess cites the fate of Actaeon to show that in being merely blinded Tiresias has suffered lightly for his glimpse of her naked body.

337 [523] ὄλβιε Τειρεσία: a prominently placed allusion to the Callimachean passage: *h.* 5.117 = *HA 248* ὀλβίσταν ἐρέει σε (i.e. Actaeon's mother will consider Chariclo blessed).

338 [524] ἀναινομένης: concessive: 'although it was against her will', she nevertheless pitied him.

340 [526] ὑμετέρωι: occasionally in earlier epic verse, and often in Nonnus, ὑμέτερος is used for σός.

341–2 [527–8] ὑμετέρων . . . Ἀθήνη: in the Callimachean narrative Athena says that she will make Tiresias a seer in compensation for the loss of his sight (119–30 = *HA 250–61*).

342 [528] νόωι μετέθηκεν 'transferred to your mind'.

346 [532] ἅ περ = ὥσπερ.

347 [533] ἀέξω 'I keep'; cf. 350 n.

348 [534] σφωϊτέρωι: this 2nd pers. dual adj. is sometimes used as an equivalent of σφέτερος, 'their own', in later epic.

350 [536] μεθέπω: often in Nonnus this verb, like ἀέξω (347 n.), is virtually a synonym for ἔχω.

352 [538] τόσσον qualifies λυσσήεντι (353), 'so furious'.

354–8 [540–4] For the address to and participation by the natural world, see 459 n.

355 [541] ὁμοίιοι: sc. ἐμοί. But the conjecture ὁμοίιον, 'likewise', may be correct.

Κιθαιρών: the mountain where these events took place.

357 [543] δάκρυσι πετραίοισιν: ἀγόρευε and δάκρυσι imply a personification of Mt Cithaeron, but πετραίοισιν underlines his still rocky nature.

359 [545] A variant of a very familiar proverb: cf. Theoc. 5.38 θρέψαι κύνας ὥς τυ φάγωντι, with Gow's note.

360–3 [546–9] His usual quarry. Cf. 293–6.

364 [550] ὁμήθεες 'companions', lit. 'having the same characteristics' (cf. 347 ἀνέρος ἦθος): they were formerly on his side against the wild beasts.

364–5 [550–1] οὐκέτι . . . | οὐκέτι: the context of lamentation suggests that this repetition alludes to Daphnis' pastoral lament, Theoc. 1.116–17 ὁ βουκόλος ὔμμιν ἐγὼ Δάφνις οὐκέτ' ἀν' ὕλαν, | οὐκέτ' ἀνὰ δρυμώς, οὐκ ἄλσεα.

370 [556] αὐτοδίδακτος: she finds out for herself.

ὀρεστιάς: i.e. she travels from Cithaeron through the mountains to Thebes.

ἵπτατο 'flew': ἵπταμι is a later Greek by-form of πέτομαι.

371 [557] ἀνάγκην 'punishment'.

373–9 [559–65] This picture of violent and self-violating distress is typical of Nonnus' explicit style. It seems to be inspired by lines 19–27 of Bion's *Lament for Adonis* (*HA 1245–53*): ἁ δ' Ἀφροδίτα | λυσαμένα πλοκαμῖδας ἀνὰ δρυμὼς ἀλάληται | πενθαλέα νήπλεκτος ἀσάνδαλος, αἱ δὲ βάτοι νιν | ἐρχομέναν κείροντι καὶ ἱερὸν αἷμα δρέπονται; there follows a description of bloodied μηροί and μαζοί.

375 [561] ὅλον 'completely', i.e. 'from top to bottom', if Köchly's conjecture is correct. ἑόν, less difficult for the sense, would perhaps be over-emphatic with ἑάς in the following line.

378 [564] παιδοκόμων . . . ἄντυγα μαζῶν 'the curve of her child-cherishing breasts': ἄντυγα μαζῶν is a favourite Nonnian 'formula'.

382 [568] ἐπιστώσαντο 'confirmed': cf. 504 πιστὸν . . . θανάτου σημήιον.

383 [569] The hounds are now perhaps aware of what they have done.

385–6 [571–2] Κάδμος. | Ἁρμονίη: the parents of Actaeon's mother Autonoe.

ἰάχησε suggests the opposite of ἁρμονία.

388–404 [574–90] In these lines the narrative takes on characteristics of the formal lament, as Autonoe's pathetic ignorance is emphasised by anaphora, repetition, etc.: 395 and 401 are a 'refrain'; 390–400 have repetition with variation; 390 εἶδε, 391 οὐκ ἴδεν, 397 οὐκ ἴδε, 402 οὐκ ἴδε; 390 ἔδρακε, 402 οὐκ ἔδρακεν; 393, 398 οὐ μάθε(ν); 397 ἐνόησε, 403 οὐκ ἐνόησεν; 390, 394 μορφήν, 402 μορφῆς; 391 ὀπωπήν, 396 ὄπωπεν, 397 ὀπωπῆς; 397, 400 κύκλον/-α + gen.

389 [575] πολύπλανα: a 'transferred epithet': it was the parents who were 'much-wandering' as they sought out Actaeon's remains.

394 [580] δοκέεσκεν 'she was expecting'.

395, 401 [581, 587] οὐ μέμφομαι: in Homer the narrator intervenes in the first person only rarely (e.g. at the beginning of the Catalogue, *Il.* 2.484–93); Nonnus, influenced no doubt by Hellenistic poets, does so more often.

400 [586] κύκλα emphasises the roundness of the human footwear in comparison with slender hooves.

403 [589] ἴνδαλμα 'appearance' (from the same root as ἰδεῖν). The noun is found first in later Greek, but the verb ἰνδάλλομαι, 'seem', is Homeric.

404 [590] 'His chin marked with dark growth.' He was a newly bearded youth.

ἀνθερεῶνα: a rare Homeric word used frequently by Nonnus. The word-play with ἄνθεϊ suggests a literal meaning 'place where the bloom is' (which may well be the correct etymology).

405 [591] ῥάχιν ὕλης 'the wooded crest', lit. 'spine of the wood' – a common Nonnian 'formula'. The anatomical metaphor is continued in νῶτα κολώνης (406).

411 [597] 'Snatching with their eyes the wing of light sleep.' Sleep is conventionally depicted as winged, but here the imagery is complicated by (i) ἁρπάξαντες, which suggests that sleep must be seized as it flies by (cf. 535), and (ii) by ἀηδονίου, which alludes to another winged creature, the nocturnally wakeful nightingale. (ἀηδόνιος ὕπνος is proverbial for light or brief sleep.)

412–532 [598–718] Actaeon the stag appears to his father in a dream. He explains his metamorphosis, speaks at length of his hounds, describes how he saw Artemis bathing, tells where his remains are to be found, and gives instructions for his burial. In content and structure the speech is similar to that of Elpenor to Odysseus in Hades (*Od.* 11.60–78); but the fact that it takes place in a dream suggests an allusion also to *Il.* 23.69–92, where Patroclus' ghost exhorts the sleeping Achilles to give him burial (415 n.).

413 [599] σκιόεν 'ghostly'.

415 [601] Cf. *Il.* 23.69 (Patroclus' ghost) εὕδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο λελασμένος ἔπλευ, Ἀχιλλεῦ, 2.23, etc.

416–17, 427–8 [602–3, 613–14] Rhyming effects, rare in Classical poetry, are exploited by Nonnus as a part of his novel strategy of producing noisy Bacchic hexameters reflecting the divine ecstasy.

416 [602] νόθην: i.e. this is not his true appearance; cf. 431.

422 [608] προσθιδίους . . . πόδας 'fore-feet'.

423 [609] δοκεύοις = δόκευε, opt. for imper., because Nonnus' metrical laws forbid proparoxytone words at line-end.

429 [615] κατηφέι: another bold 'transferred epithet' (a type of expression highly characteristic of Nonnus – cf. 389 n.): it is his father who will be 'downcast'.

438 [624] Cf. Call. *h.* 5.114–15 (quoted in 326 n.), and 470. Here typical Nonnian elaboration amplifies Callimachus' verb δειπνησεῦντι into a grotesque and vivid image.

439 [625] εἴρεο 'ask': imper. of ἔρομαι with 'epic lengthening'.

440 [626] ἰσοτύπους: after his metamorphosis he had the same shape as the animals which he used to hunt.

441 [627] οὓς ἐκάλεσσα νομῆας 'the shepherds on whom I called ⟨for help⟩'.

445 [631] ἀπεπλάγχθησαν 'were deceived'. Usually this meaning is conveyed by παραπλάζω: cf. 330.

447 [633] πόσα 'how many times!'

450–1 [636–7] They paw his nets following a 'law of affection', i.e. an affectionate human (452) impulse.

453 [639] χαμεύνηι: lit. 'bed on the ground'. According to Pausanias (9.2.3) a rock on Mt Cithaeron was identified as the place where Actaeon used to rest from the hunt.

456 [642] ἀνέκοψαν 'checked': cf. 491.

459 [645] The conversation between hounds and crags extends the 'pathetic fallacy', the pastoral convention (seen in e.g. the first *Idyll* of Theocritus) whereby the sounds of animals or of nature are taken to be made in sympathy with human affairs.

462 [648] κεμαδοσσόον 'deer-chasing' (κεμάς, σεύω).

466 [652] The hunter hunted. Cf. 325.

469 [655] ἴχνος ἑλίσσων is a Nonnian 'formula' for rapid movement.

470 [656] 438 n.

474 [660] This line conflates two Homeric ones: *Od.* 23.190 (the olive from which Odysseus fashioned his bed) θάμνος ἔφυ τανύφυλλος ἐλαίης, and *Od.* 5.477 (the θάμνοι in which Odysseus slept after being cast up in Phaeacia) ὁ μὲν φυλίης, ὁ δ' ἐλαίης.

φυλίης: meaning uncertain: probably a wild olive or fig.

475–81 [661–7] Actaeon says that he compounded his crime by using the olive, a tree sacred to chaste Athena, as vantage-point for his unchaste gaze: at least the φυλίη would have been an appropriate setting for an act of φιλία (475–6). The word-play is facilitated by the fact that by this period υ was beginning to move in pronunciation towards ι: W. S. Allen, *Vox graeca* (3rd edn, Cambridge, 1987) 68–9. There is a discrepancy with 303, where the tree is said to be a φηγός; here, as there, Homeric quotation (474 n.) has made for inconsistency.

476 [662] πρέμνον . . . ἁγνὸν ἐλαίης: a Callimachean phrase (*h.* 4.322).

478 [664] ἀασάμην is similarly used by Agamemnon with reference to his treatment of Achilles (*Il.* 9.116); ἀτάσθαλον ὕβριν is found at *Od.* 16.86; and ὕβριν ἀέξων is formed in imitation of the Homeric πένθος ἀέξειν, etc.

479 [665] Παλλάδος . . . Ἰοχεαίρης are first and last words in the line, reflecting the image of 'twin' ὕβρις at 478; cf. 481.

485–6 [671–2] The light reflected from her limbs strikes the water (ῥεέθροις) and dazzles (ἀμάρυσσεν, an unusual use) Actaeon's sight.

χιονέας represents her chilly chastity.

487–8 [673–4] Artemis' beauty shone out with the cool brightness of moonlight on the waters of Ocean: a night-time occurrence is used to illustrate daytime radiance.

487 [673] παλίμπορον describes the flux and reflux of Ocean, the great river which encircles the world.

488 [674] ὄμπνια 'fertile', 'nourishing' – a reference to the moon's supposed influence on growth and fertility. The epithet is more commonly used of Demeter.

489 [675] ὁμήλυδες 'companions'.

489–91 [675–7] Nonnus has borrowed the three nymph-names from Call. *h.* 4.292, where they are said to be daughters of Boreas.

492 [678] An 'air-ranging mist' covers his eyes – i.e. he loses consciousness.

496 [682] Cf. 329.

497 [683] τί δεύτερον ἄλγος ἐνίψω; 'Why should I tell a second grief?', i.e. 'Why should I renew my suffering by telling of it?'

498 [684] μή σε . . . στοναχῇσι πελάσσω is based on the Homeric expression ὀδύνῃσι πελάζειν (*Il.* 5.766).

500 [686] λυθέντα: i.e. scattered: cf. 502 μεμερισμένα γαίηι.

501 [687] Cf. 392.

506 [692] ἐμορφώθησαν 'have been changed into a different shape'.

509 [695] Ὦτος: the huge brothers Otus and Ephialtes are often cited as examples of impiety. According to *Od.* 11.305–20 (where Orion, too, is mentioned) they threatened to pile Pelion upon Ossa upon Olympus in order to reach heaven and attack the gods. They were killed by Apollo.

μή: Nonnus often uses μή for οὐ in order to avoid hiatus after words ending in a vowel. In later Greek the two negatives were in any case almost interchangeable.

510–11 [696–7] The most common account of Orion's death states that he was killed by the sting of a scorpion sent by Artemis, whom he had attempted to rape. See Frazer's n. on Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.5.

510 [696] It is not certain whether there is something missing after κυνοσσόον (i.e. the end of the line and the first four feet of the next) or whether Actaeon breaks off his speech with emotional aposiopesis. A third, less likely, possibility is that κυνοσσόον is corrupt and has displaced a verb.

513–14 [699–700] Φοῖβος . . . | Κυρήνηι: 292 n.

515 [701] ἐμφύλιον . . . γάμον 'a family marriage'!

516–17 [702–3] Dawn is said to have been made to fall in love with Orion by Aphrodite as punishment for her sleeping with Ares, and to have carried him off to Delos (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.4), where he was later killed by Artemis (510–11 n.). On Selene and Endymion see *438* n. Demeter loved Iasion and coupled with him in a fallow field; Zeus punished his presumption with a fatal thunderbolt (*Od.* 5.125–8).

516 [702] ἀργέτις 'bright', a feminine form of ἀργός.

521 [707] κυσὶν μέλπηθρα γενέσθαι: the phrase is borrowed from *Il.* 17.255, where Menelaus exhorts his troops not to allow Patroclus' body 'to become a plaything for the dogs'.

524 [710] πῆξον ἐμὸν παρὰ τύμβον: another reminiscence of Elpenor (cf. 412–532 n.), who begs Odysseus πῆξαί τ' ἐπὶ τύμβωι ἐρετμόν (*Od.* 11.77).

ὅ περ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων: a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 16.457, etc.).

525 [711] ἀλλά 'but ⟨on second thoughts⟩'.

βέλος καὶ τόξον ἔα: the naming of Ἰοχέαιρα in 526 draws attention to the fact that this line is an ironical echo of Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*. At the beginning of that poem the young goddess is shown pleading with Zeus for the weapons which will later become her characteristic attributes: δὸς δ' ἰοὺς καὶ τόξα – ἔα, πάτερ, οὔ σε φαρέτρην | οὐδ' αἰτέω μέγα τόξον (8–9). Nonnus makes two alterations: (i) In Callimachus ἔα begins a new sentence ('*do* give them ...'), whereas in Nonnus it governs the preceding words ('let alone my bow and arrows'); (ii) the hiatus between τόξα and ἔα (highly unusual even for Callimachus, and to be explained by the strong sense-pause) is avoided by the singular τόξον.

526 [712] ἀγκύλα τόξα: *Il.* 6.322.

τόξα τιταίνει: *Il.* 8.266.

527–30 [713–16] Actaeon asks his father to have carved on his tombstone a picture of himself with human head and stag's body. This aspect of Nonnus' narrative has mythical precedent: one version told how Actaeon's grieving hounds were consoled when Chiron made for them a statue of their master (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.4; *P. Oxy.* 2509; cf. Paus. 9.38.5).

527 [713] ζωιοτύπον 'a sculptor' who models from life (ζωή); but there may also be a punning reference to Actaeon's animal (ζῶιον) form.

531–2 [717–18] He asks that the man–stag should not be shown in the act of being killed (γράψειας is used as a synonym for χαράξειας: cf. 527). The reason for his request is not entirely clear. He seems to be saying that knowledge of his metamorphosis *and* of his unhappy fate together would be too much for the sensibilities of passers-by whose sympathy might be aroused by the image alone.

533 [719] ἀπροϊδής 'unforeseen', i.e. suddenly.

535 [721] ἄνθορεν 'leapt up': aor. of ἀναθρώισκω.

ἀπορρίψας πτερὸν Ὕπνου: 411 n.

537 [723] κεραελκέα 'horned' – lit. 'dragging with horns'; but the second element of the compound is inoperative. Nonnus makes something of a habit of treating compound adjectives in this way.

541 [727] 'She traversed the densely-growing areas of tall thickets.'

542 [728] κύκλα κελεύθων 'winding paths': another Nonnian 'formula'.

545 [731] χυτῆι μεμερισμένα γαίηι: cf. 502. In epic χυτὴ γαῖα usually means the heaped earth of a funerary mound, but here it must refer to the ground itself.

546 [732] πεπτηῶτα: perf. part. act. of πίπτω.

συνελέξατο μήτηρ echoes the Callimachean τὰ δ' υἱέος ὀστέα μάτηρ | λεξεῖται (*h.* 5.115–16 = *HA* 246–7).

547 [733] γλυκερήν: so it seemed to her.

549 [735] ὀξὺ δὲ κωκύουσα: borrowed either from *Il.* 18.71 ὀξὺ δὲ κωκύσασα (of Thetis mourning Achilles) or from Bion, *Lament for Adonis* 23 (*HA 1249*) ὀξὺ δὲ κωκύοισα (of Aphrodite mourning Adonis).

550 [736] παρά 'on': cf. 527–8.

ἐπέγραφεν presumably refers to an inscription around the tomb rather than to a painted low-relief (cf. 531–2).

VI

Musaeus

Hero and Leander tells how two young people who lived on opposite sides of the Hellespont fell in love at a festival of Aphrodite; how, guided by Hero's lamp, Leander swam nightly across the strait and returned at daybreak; and how he finally perished in a storm, Hero committing suicide on his corpse.

Epyllion. Short hexameter poems on mythological themes, a genre pioneered by Hellenistic poets (*HA* p. 200), continued popular throughout the Imperial period. Still extant are Triphiodorus' Ἅλωσις Ἰλίου (third/fourth century) and Colluthus' Ἁρπαγὴ τῆς Ἑλένης (sixth century). Many episodes of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, particularly the erotic encounters, are written after the style of self-contained epyllia.

Musaeus. Virtually nothing is known of Musaeus. He is probably to be dated in the late fifth or early sixth century. In the poem's heading he is called γραμματικός, i.e. a scholar and teacher of literature; and the highly allusive nature of his work suggests a learned author. He may have been a Christian and/or a Neoplatonist. Some have suspected that his name is a pseudonym, since Musaeus and Orpheus (see p. 208) were the mythical founding fathers of Greek poetry; but in Egypt at least the name was a common one during this period. He may then have been another member of the Egyptian school of hexameter poets (p. 10).

Sources. The dangerous swim to one's beloved is a common folktale theme, and no doubt the story of Hero and Leander was originally a local legend of that type told about the Hellespont; further speculation is hardly profitable (24 n.). The only other extant literary treatment is in Ovid's 18th and 19th *Heroides*; but several incidental references by Roman writers suggest that the tale was well known by the first century BC (see in particular Virg. *Geo.* 3.258–63, with Thomas' notes), an impression confirmed by numerous artistic representations (*LIMC* s.v. Leandros). A few similarities of expression between Ovid and Musaeus (156, 215, 255, 262 nn.) suggest that a Hellenistic poem was their common source; and a scrappy papyrus (*SH* 901; cf. 951), probably of the third century AD, may preserve fragments of that work. In Ovid the lovers are living correspondents, and the standpoint from which they write is so far from that of the putative source as to make reconstruction of it impossible. No doubt Musaeus is closer to the narrative sequence of his model (if by this date he had one single model). Perhaps he innovated by dwelling chiefly on the lovers' first meeting, or in making the extinguishing of the lamp symbol rather than cause of Leander's death (217 ~ 329–30), or in making Hero a priestess (no reference is made in the narrative to her official functions at the festival). But even this is highly speculative.

More can be said concerning Musaeus' use of extant literary sources. His poem is packed with allusion on both linguistic and contextual levels, so that we may ask of him, as Hero wonderingly asks Leander, τίς σε πολυπλανέων ἐπέων ἐδίδαξε κελεύθους; (175). (i) In vocabulary, metre, and phrasing he is clearly of the Nonnian school; the present commentary has space to note only a few of his very many similar expressions. It seems likely, however, that most of these similarities are

not allusions to specific contexts in Nonnus, but selections from what had become a common poetic stock. (ii) Despite these many similarities, the overall effect of the poem is different from that of Nonnian narrative, since Musaeus has attempted a fusion of Homeric and Nonnian elements. Nonnus himself often uses Homeric words and phrases, but in Musaeus such quotations are more obtrusive. In addition to these verbatim borrowings, the story as a whole is told in a way that systematically draws comparisons between Leander and Odysseus. The most notable similarity is in the storm-scene (314, 316–17, 319–22, 324–5, 330, 339 nn.), which ends not as in book 5 of the *Odyssey* with the swimmer's survival and his meeting with his (potential) beloved, but with his death. Other scenes, too, allude to the *Odyssey*: the lovers' first meeting is reminiscent of Odysseus' supplication of Nausicaa (135–40, 178, 179–80, 183 nn.); Leander as he sets out on his first swim is described in words that recall Odysseus' departure from the island of Calypso (213–14 n.); and he binds his clothes on his head as Odysseus in one of his Cretan tales claims to have done (251–2 n.). These and other allusions, together with the traditionally epical and un-Nonnian use of dialogue at the lovers' first meeting, combine with the Nonnian features to produce a poem which blends modern and archaic effects. (iii) The first meeting is influenced in addition by the beginning of Achilles Tatius' second-century romance *Leucippe and Clitophon* (55–9, 92–5, 96–8, 109–59, 150–1, 170 nn.), and probably by Callimachus' account of the meeting of Acontius and Cydippe in book 3 of the *Aetia* (42–54 n.; cf. 198–201 n.). Authorial interventions on the nature of ἔρως (63–5, 131–2, 164–5 nn.) are typical of the novel, but occur already in Nonnus. The poem's title, τὰ καθ' Ἡρὼ καὶ Λέανδρον, is of a type common in prose romances, and leads us to expect a love story.

The poem. Hero and Leander is structured with a disproportion characteristic of epyllia: two-thirds of the poem (30–231) describes the lovers' first meeting, while their nocturnal trysts, Leander's last crossing, and their unhappy deaths together occupy the final third. Whether or not his source(s) had the same emphasis, Musaeus' originality is probably to be seen chiefly in the way that he uses the style and literary allusions enumerated above to present a well known tale in a fresh guise.

A notable feature of Musaeus' narrative is his thematic use of imagery, particularly that associated with light and darkness. Hero's lamp features prominently in the proem (1–15) and casts its influence over

the whole story. In the first line it is called ἐπιμάρτυρα ... ἐρώτων, an allusion to the idea familiar from erotic epigrams that a lamp can be 'witness' to lovemaking. Subsequent lines show that this is only one of the lamp's functions: it also plays a vital role as 'messenger' or 'minister' for Leander's swim (6, 7, 12, 212, 218, 237, 306). A symbol of bright hope at first (~304, 329), it finds its counterpart in Leander's heart, which is 'kindled' with burning love (88, 90–1) and leaps at the sight of the lamp's summons (239–40). Perhaps in the Hellenistic version Leander drowned when Hero was unable or failed to keep the lamp alight; but in Musaeus its extinction symbolises rather than causes his death (329–30). These various manifestations of the lamp, together with the images of light that characterise Hero and Leander themselves (moon, stars, eyebeams, radiant beauty), contrast with the darkness in which the lovers conduct their clandestine meetings. This idea, too, is pointed in the opening line, where κρυφίων ἐπιμάρτυρα λύχνον ἐρώτων is a virtual oxymoron which stresses the unusual nature of their love. Sexual acts traditionally take place in the dark; but for Hero and Leander everything is surrounded by a pall of darkness and secrecy: at the festival Leander grows bold as evening closes in (109–13), and the rest of the action, apart from the final scene, takes place at night. At last the fragile light of love and life expires.

This highly self-conscious symbolism led Gelzer to detect thoroughgoing Neoplatonic allegory in the poem (Loeb edn, 316–22); but critics have on the whole remained sceptical.

Bibl.: Edns.: P. Orsini (Budé, Paris, 1968) – brief notes; K. Kost (Bonn, 1971) – a huge commentary, to which these notes are heavily indebted; T. Gelzer and C. H. Whitman (with Callimachus, *Fragments*, ed. C. A. Trypanis, Loeb, London/Cambridge, Mass., 1975); E. Livrea and P. Eleuteri (Teubner, Leipzig, 1982), including new MS collations. Gen.: the introductions of Gelzer and Kost; T. Gelzer, 'Bemerkungen zur Sprache und Stil des Epikers Musaios', *Mus. Helv.* 24 (1967) 129–48, 25 (1968) 11–47; G. Braden, *The Classics and English Renaissance poetry* (New Haven, 1978) 57–81.

> Surveys of Musaeus' considerable influence on later European literature and art may be found in Kost (69–85), Orsini (xxv–xxxii), and Gelzer (323–6); more detailed is Braden, *op. cit.* 55–153. In English the most notable imitation is Marlowe's lengthy *Hero & Leander*,

completed after his death by Chapman; cf. too Byron's *The Bride of Abydos* 2.1–2.

1–15 [738–52] These elegant and impressive opening lines, a *tour de force* of verbal artistry, present the themes and motifs that will characterise Musaeus' treatment of the Hero and Leander story: lamp, lovers, darkness and light. Lines 1–13, a long single sentence, outline some aspects of the plot and pay tribute to the role of the lamp; lines 14–15 repeat the opening invocation and sum up the story more epigrammatically. Rhetorical features common throughout the poem are particularly prominent here: alliteration and assonance (1 εἰπέ, ἐπι-, ἐρ-, 4 -τὸν, -δόν, -ον, -ον, 5 Λέ-, λύ-; -ον, ὁμ-, -ον, 6 ἀπ-, Ἀφ-, 7 -γάμοι-, γαμο-, 8 -ον, τὸν; 9 ἄ-, ἄ-, ἄ-; ἄγ-, -ήγ-, 10 -λον, -ρον, 11- έρι-, -ερω-; -έων, -άων, 12 -ων, -ων, 13 -ῆισιν, ἀή-, ἀήτην, 14 μοι, μέ-, μί-, 15 λύχ-, -λυμ-, Λε-; -ου, -ου; -υμένοιο, -υμένοιο), anaphora and repetition (2–4 καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ; 1, 5, 6, 8, 15 λύχνον/-ου; 3, 4 γάμον, 7 νυκτιγάμοιο γαμοστόλον; 6 ἀπαγγέλλοντα, 7 ἀγγελιώτην, 12 ἀγγελίην; 1, 8 ἔρωτος, 10 ἐρώτων, 11 ἐρωμανέων; 2, 12 ὑμεναίων; 9, 10 ἄστρων/-ον; 9 ἄγειν, 14 ἄγε; 5, 15 Λέανδρον/-ου), rhyme at line-end (1–2 -ων; 3–4 Ἠώς, Ἡροῦς; 6–7 -της, -την; 9–12 -ρων, -των, -άων, -αίων; 13–14 -την), word-play (9 ἄγειν ~ ὁμήγυριν, 13 ἀήμεναι ~ ἀήτην), parallelism (1–2 *passim*, 2 νύχιον πλωτῆρα ~ 3 γάμον ἀχλυόεντα, 11 ἐρωμανέων ὀδυνάων ~ 12 ἀκοιμήτων ὑμεναίων, 15 *passim*), and variation (2 νύχιον, 3 ἀχλυόεντα, 4 ἔννυχον, 7 νυκτιγάμοιο, 9 ἐννύχιον; 1 ἐρώτων, 2 ὑμεναίων, 3 γάμον, 7 γαμοστόλον, 10 νυμφοστόλον, 11 ἐρωμανέων ὀδυνάων).

1 [738] Although the words εἰπέ, θεά were no doubt used commonly enough in addressing the Muse (cf. Call. *h.* 3.186, Theoc. 22.116, *Od.* 1.10), certain resemblances of phrasing and subject-matter suggest that here there may be an allusion to the opening line of Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, εἰπέ, θεά, Κρονίδαο διάκτορον αἴθοπος εὐνῆς, a reference to the lightning-bolt which incinerated Semele: similarities include the notion of bright light and the grammatical structure; for διάκτορον cf. 6 διακτορίην. It is thus possible that εἰπέ, θεά, κρ- is to be seen as an acknowledgement that Musaeus is a member of the Nonnian school. Slight support is lent to this idea by the fact that the remainder of the line may allude to *Dion.* 46.29 κρυφίων λεχέων ἐπιμάρτυρες εἰσὶ κεραυνοί, another reference to Semele's lightning. But here, as in so many other places in the poem, it is difficult to decide between specific allusion and selection from a common stock of half-lines and phrases.

2 [739] πλωτῆρα: the usual meaning is 'sailor'; but, although Leander's swimming is first explicitly mentioned only in line 5, the poem's title has already led us to think of a swimmer here.

θαλασσοπόρων: transferred epithets are very frequent in Nonnian poetry, and commentators point out that this word ought really to qualify πλωτῆρα. Such logic can, however, be misleading. The fact is that these were nuptials achieved by crossing the sea.

ὑμεναίων depends somehow on πλωτῆρα: he swam *to*, or was a swimmer who participated *in*, or having swum was performer *of*, or famous *for*, these nuptials. Influenced despite themselves by contemporary linguistic developments, later Greek classicising poets took great liberties with both the genitive and dative cases. It seems hardly possible to define the syntax here precisely.

3 [740] ἀχλυόεντα: darkness here implies secrecy.

ἄφθιτος Ἠώς sounds like, but in fact is not, a Homeric formula; see p. 123. Here and at 282 Ἠώς is probably not 'dawn' but 'light' (cf. 288); ἄφθιτος because it never fails to be reborn each day.

4 [741] καὶ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἄβυδον: a quotation from *Il.* 2.836, where these two towns are listed as part of the Trojan contingent. Sestos (on the European side) and Abydos faced each other at the narrowest point of the Hellespont. The distance between them is something less than a mile, but the currents make swimming arduous. Cf. Strabo 13.1.22.

6 [743] 'The lamp which proclaimed the ministry of Aphrodite', an expression of doubtful sense. Perhaps the meaning is that the lamp's light testified to the fact that Aphrodite was ministering to the union of the lovers; or that the lamp itself acted as minister to the lovers on behalf of Aphrodite.

8–10 [745–7] Zeus ought to have rewarded the lamp's faithful ministry by turning it into a star. Many stars and constellations were reputed to have come into being in commemoration of notable events, usually in the distant past. A famous and more recent such catasterism was that celebrated in Callimachus' Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος (fr. 110),

translated by Catullus (poem 66): Conon, the royal astronomer, pointed out a new star cluster, and claimed that it represented a lock of hair dedicated by Berenice against the safe return from war of her husband, Ptolemy I. See 9 n.

8 [745] Ἔρωτος ἄγαλμα 'love's delight', or perhaps 'an object dedicated to Eros' (ἄγαλμα sometimes = ἀνάθημα: LSJ s.v. 2).

9 [746] ἐννύχιον μετ' ἄεθλον: the meaning is uncertain. (i) 'After its, i.e. the lamp's, nightlong duty', giving a further reason for catasterism, fits the context better; but (ii) the translation 'after their, i.e. the lovers', nightlong ⟨amorous⟩ struggling' is supported by Agathias, *AP* 5.294.18 (*159*) σύμβολον ἐννυχίης ... ἀεθλοσύνης and by Cat. 66.13 *nocturnae ... uestigia rixae*, from a translation of a poem to which Musaeus may allude in these lines (8–10 n.).

ἐς ὁμήγυριν ἄστρων: perhaps an echo of Aesch. *Agam.* 4 ἄστρων ... νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν.

10 [747] ἐπικλῆσαι: cf. Homer's description of the Wain: Ἄρκτον θ', ἣν καὶ Ἄμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν (*Il.* 18.487, *Od.* 5.273; cf. *Il.* 22.29).

νυμφοστόλον ἄστρον ἐρώτων: cf. 212.

11 [748] συνέριθος 'helpmate', a rare word which occurs only once in Homer (*Od.* 6.32).

ἐρωμανέων ὀδυνάων 'the pains of mad passion'.

12 [749] Cf. 221–3. The lamp acts as lookout for the lovers – a role usually given in such stories to a trusty servant.

ἀκοιμήτων ὑμεναίων: they made love all night. Cf. 225.

13 [750] Cf. 309–10, 329.

14 [751] The production of poetry is often conceived of as a joint effort between Muse and poet.

μοι is governed by συν-.

15 [752] Cf. 216, 329–30.

σβεννυμένοιο: Greek uses this verb metaphorically of the extinction of life.

16–27 [753–64] A partly aetiological introduction to the story: Hero's tower and the strait crossed by Leander can still be visited. Such documentary details were particularly favoured by Hellenistic poets.

16–17 [753–4] ἔην ... εἰσί: the tense of ἔην perhaps implies 'once upon a time'; but the change to the present in 17 remains odd. Kost ingeniously argues that Musaeus is here borrowing the words of the Hadrianic geographical poet Dionysius Periegetes, who wrote (516) Σηστὸς ὅπῃ καὶ Ἄβυδος ἐναντίον ὅρμον ἔθεντο, and that only a past tense could be fitted into the metrical space left by ὅπῃ.

17 [754] ἑά: the MS reading ἀνά is clearly wrong: tmesis is extremely rare in this school of poetry (cf. 342 n.), and ἀνὰ ... τιταίνων would mean 'brandishing' or 'waving about'. Uncompounded τόξα τιταίνειν/-ων is, on the other hand, very commonly used of bending a bow. Several emendations have been proposed, and choice between them is difficult. (i) Lehrs's ἑά is entirely acceptable; and cf. 149 Ἔρως ... ἑοῖς βελέεσσι κιχήσας. (ii) Dilthey's ἶσα is supported by Rufinus, *AP* 5.97.1–2 (36 Page) εἰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισιν, Ἔρως, ἶσα τόξα τιταίνεις, | εἶ θεός and by Nonnus, *Dion.* 35.134–5 (quoted below, 18 n.). The meaning would be 'affecting both cities equally'. (iii) Graefe proposed ἅμα, a word satisfyingly close in appearance to ἀνά. But ἅμα would then almost inevitably be taken with τόξα τιταίνων, giving poor sense ('at the same time as he bent his bow he affected both cities'). If it could only be taken with ἀμφοτέραις, all would be well ('bending his bow he affected both cities at the same time'), but the word order forbids it.

18 [755] ξύνωσεν: (i) 'He made common a single arrow for both towns', i.e. he affected both with a single shot. ξυνόω (poorly documented in LSJ, but common in Nonnus) is a recherché equivalent of κοινόω. Dilthey's conjecture is supported by Nonnus, *Dion.* 35.134–5 εἰς σὲ γὰρ ἶσα βέλεμνα καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ διπλόα πέμπων | Ἵμερος ἀμφοτέροισι μίαν ξύνωσεν ἀνάγκην (or ἀνίην). (ii) Some critics have striven valiantly to defend the MS reading ξυνέηκεν. They are prompted partly by innate conservatism and partly by an understandable desire to see here, at the beginning of the poem, an echo of Homer's question at the beginning of the *Iliad* (1.8) τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι; The syntax of Musaeus' line is, however, quite different, and there is no accusative corresponding to σφωε. (The translation of LSJ, '*shot* one arrow at both *together*', makes the difficulty seem less than it in fact is.)

(iii) Near the beginning of the *Iliad* an arrow is indeed shot, by Apollo: *Il.* 1.48 ἕζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, μετὰ δ' ἰὸν ἕηκε. But ξυνέηκε is not the same as μεθέηκε.

19–20 [756–7] οὔνομα . . . 'Ηρώ: in Greek καλεῖσθαι is often little more than a synonym of εἶναι (LSJ s.v. καλέω II.2), so that adjectives qualifying a name sound less odd than with 'be called' in English. Here that usage is extended to οὔνομα . . . ἔην: cf. 220.

22 [759] ἀμφοτέρων . . . ἄμφω: the balanced word order emphasises their parity, which will culminate in shared death. Cf. 23. The falling in love of two eminently beautiful young people was, not surprisingly, a commonplace theme in ancient romance.

ἀστέρες: Greek, like English, uses 'star' of a person of outstanding beauty or talent. Here the context confirms an echo of Call. fr. 67.5, 8 (*HA 45, 48*) ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν 'Ιουλίδος, ἡ δ' ἀπὸ Νάξου . . . καλοὶ νησάων ἀστέρες ἀμφότεροι (of Acontius and Cydippe; cf. 42–54 n.). On the light-imagery see pp. 138–9.

23–7 [760–4] The poet invites his reader to the scene of the story. The implication is that such a visit would be part homage, part confirmation of the truth of his tale (16–27 n.).

23 [760] εἴ ποτε κεῖθι περήσεις: the sense is 'if ever you intend to pass through that region', not 'if ever you intend to cross there' (despite περάω meaning 'cross' at 203 and 224), since one could not be asked to look out for the strait (26) if one were crossing it. For this type of future tense in conditional clauses, implying 'intend to' or 'be about to', see Goodwin, *GMT* §407.

24 [761] δίζεό μοι 'make sure that you look out for' – dative of interest.

πύργον: it is generally thought that the story of Hero and Leander arose to account for the presence of a lighthouse at Sestos (Strabo 13.1.22 refers to Hero's tower as still standing; at *Epist.* 1.3.4 Horace mentions a tower on either shore). From this it has been concluded that the tale arose in the Hellenistic period or even later, since the Greeks had no lighthouses until the third century BC, when the Pharos at Alexandria was built. That may be so; but towers existed as landmarks for mariners before then, and a story of a girl holding high a light for her lover needs no Pharos for inspiration.

25 [762] λύχνον ἔχουσα = *Od.* 19.34 (the only occurrence of λύχνος in Homer), of the golden lamp held for Odysseus by Athene.

26 [763] ἀρχαίης: Sestos and Abydos are old foundations mentioned already in the *Iliad* (4 n.); but here ἀρχαίης implies, too, that Hero and Leander lived in days of old.

ἀλιηχέα, an innocuous-seeming epithet, in fact looks forward to Leander's stormy fate: in the next line the sea's ἠχή is imagined to be a lamentation. Cf. 313, 315.

27 [764] εἰσέτι που: in Hellenistic poetry ἔτι and εἰσέτι often point an aetiology (e.g. Call. *h.* 3.77–8 τὸ δ' ἄτριχον εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν | . . . μένει μέρος). που implies that the sea still makes its noise, and still perhaps does so in memory of Leander.

27–8 [764–5] Λεάνδρου | . . . Λείανδρος: use of juxtaposed alternative forms of the same word is a mannerism of learned poetry: cf. *HA 203–4, 275, 315–16, 328, 367, 1560–1*.

28–9 [765–6] The question is Musaeus' equivalent of that at *Il.* 1.8 (quoted in 18 n.). How did it come about that they fell in love?

πόθεν . . . πόθον . . . πόθωι: the word-play links love with its origin.

28 [765] 'Αβυδόθι δώματα ναίων: Homer has 'Αβυδόθι (ϝ)οἰκία ναίων (*Il.* 17.584, of Hector's friend Phaenops). Musaeus alludes to this, but substitutes δώματα for οἰκία to avoid the hiatus, inadmissible in his stricter metrics. δώματα ναίων is itself a Homeric line-ending: cf. *Od.* 9.18 ἀπόπροθι δώματα ναίων. -θι is an old locative ending.

30–41 [767–78] Hero, a paradoxically chaste priestess of Aphrodite, lived in a tower by the sea. Modesty kept her from society; but her prayers availed nothing, and she succumbed to the arrows of love. Alliteration and assonance continue: 30–1 χαρίεσσα . . . λαχοῦσα | . . . ἱέρεια . . . ἐοῦσα, 32 πύ-, -πὸ προ-, πα-, 35 χορ-, χάρ-; -ηλ-, ἧλ-, ἥβης, 36–7 -νη, ζηλή-, θη-, -ῖηι, ζηλή-.

30 [767] διοτρεφὲς αἷμα λαχοῦσα: i.e. she was from a noble and prosperous family, 'nurtured by Zeus'.

31 [768] γάμων δ' ἀδίδακτος ἐοῦσα: she was untutored in, i.e. had no experience of, sexual matters. Since no full study exists of the evidence for conditions of tenure of Greek priesthoods, it is impossible to say

whether or not Hero's chastity is intended to seem unusual or unnatural. Certainly it is not unique: Pausanias speaks of a temple of Aphrodite in Sicyon which could only be entered by a γυνὴ νεωκόρος, ᾗι μηκέτι θέμις παρ' ἄνδρα φοιτῆσαι and a παρθένος ἱερωσύνην ἐπέτειον ἔχουσα (2.10.4).

ἀδίδακτος is construed with the genitive, like ἄπειρος. The metaphor is a common one.

32 [769] ἀπὸ προγόνων: the meaning is unclear. Does she live in the tower *qua* priestess or *qua* daughter? One might expect that her unusual occupation would be matched by the unusual residence; in that case ἀπὸ προγόνων must mean something like 'from ancient custom'. However, it seems more natural that the words should mean 'tower ⟨inherited⟩ from her ancestors'. Support for this interpretation may be sought in 190 γείτονα πόντον ἔχω στυγεραῖς βουλῆισι τοκήων: that line and the whole of 187–93 allude to the present passage. But caution is necessary. There it is Hero who speaks, in bitter hopelessness; and she goes on to attribute to parental spite what the narrator has said was the result of innate modesty (191–2 ~ 33–7). Perhaps the best way to resolve the problem is to assume a priesthood associated with the family, and a custom that the priestess should live in the tower; but that can hardly be squeezed from the Greek.

33 [770] ἄλλη Κύπρις ἄνασσα: cf. 68, 77. In both epic poetry and prose romances heroines are often compared to Aphrodite. Here the comparison gains point: Hero is Aphrodite's priestess. The phrase is associatively linked with the context: Hero lives near the sea, and Aphrodite was born from the foam.

33–5 [770–2] The text as printed means 'through prudence and modesty she never joined in women's gatherings, nor did she even . . .'; but (i) the instrumental use of the dative in σαοφροσύνηι and αἰδοῖ, though acceptable in Nonnus, is rather strained; (ii) οὐδέποτε = 'never' is unparalleled in Nonnian poetry, and in any case οὐδέποτ' (οὐδέ ποτ') . . . οὐδέ look as if they ought to be in series, 'nor . . . nor'. So it seems likely that a line containing οὐ, and perhaps a word governing the datives, has fallen out after 33, e.g. '⟨yielding to⟩ prudence and modesty ⟨she did not go near men⟩, nor . . . , nor . . .' (For δέ in 33 most MSS have τε, linking the second half of the line with what precedes: 'she was a second Aphrodite in prudence and modesty'. But Aphrodite, though occasionally referred to as αἰδοίη, is hardly famed for those qualities.)

34 [771] ἀγρομένηισι: dat. pl. fem. 2nd aor. pass. part. of ἀγείρω; cf. 324.

36–7 [773–4] It is a commonplace in ancient literature that great beauty attracts envy and scandalous gossip.

37 [774] ἐπ' 'over', 'with respect to'.

38 [775] μετ' Ἀθήνην: Hero prefaced her prayers to Aphrodite and Eros with a prayer to Athene, goddess of the σαοφροσύνη and αἰδώς which govern her modest actions and maintain her precarious virginity. The words μετ' Ἀθήνην (cf. 135) were restored by Ludwich from an ancient paraphrase preserved in one MS but based on a text better than ours: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἔρωτα θυσίαις παρήινει ἡ Ἡρώ. The MSS all read Ἀφροδίτην, no doubt a marginal explanation of Κυθέρειαν mistakenly incorporated into the text of the MS from which all surviving copies are derived. It cannot be the correct reading: (i) Κυθέρεια Ἀφροδίτη is unattested and very improbable, since the words are alternative proper names for the goddess; (ii) the hiatus between ἱλασκομένη and Ἀφροδίτην is inadmissible, and should not be defended by appeal to epic line-endings of the type χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη: such cases are limited to nouns and adjectives in agreement.

39 [776] παρηγορέεσκε 'used to appease', here virtually a synonym of ἱλασκομένη (38). The more usual meaning is 'comfort', 'assuage'.

40 [777] οὐρανίηι: a common cult-title of Aphrodite. Her other common title, πανδήμιος, is alluded to at 42: Hero's devotion could not remain ethereally theoretical.

40–1 [777–8] φλογερὴν . . . πυρὶ πνείοντας: cf. 18–19.

41 [778] ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς, a phrase not used by Nonnus, lends a Homeric tone, and may allude specifically to *Od.* 1.6, where it is said that despite all his efforts Odysseus failed to save his companions: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς ἑτάρους ἐρρύσατο, ἱέμενός περ.

42–54 [779–91] A celebration of the Adonia at Sestos attracted worshippers from far and wide; young men came to see the girls. Festivals provided a rare opportunity for young women to appear in public, and hence for young men to fall in love. Several ancient love stories begin at a festival (e.g. Callimachus' tale of Acontius and Cydippe, frr. 67, 75, *HA 41–131*), and many plots of New Comedy were based on such encounters.

42 [779] δὴ γάρ: in epic δή is occasionally first word in its clause.

πανδήμιος: i.e. a festival open to the whole people and not restricted to initiates. But there is an allusion to Aphrodite's cult-title Πάνδημος (40 n.).

43 [780] ἀνά 'throughout', i.e. 'in the town of...'

Ἀδώνιδι καὶ Κυθερείῃ: the cult of Adonis, Mesopotamian in origin, was widespread in the ancient world. By the Greeks Adonis was said to be the offspring of an incestuous union between Cinyras, a Syrian settler in Cyprus, and his daughter Myrrha, who was later metamorphosed into a myrrh-tree (Ovid, *Met.* 10.298–518). He grew to be a beautiful youth and became the lover of Aphrodite; but he soon lost his life, gored by a wild boar. Each year in many Greek cities the women commemorated Adonis' death with lamentations and rituals (see *HA* pp. 217–26). Musaeus may have chosen the Adonia rather than any other festival of Aphrodite because of its connection with tragic love: Leander is, like Adonis, a youth of supreme beauty, and Hero is a second Aphrodite (33).

44 [781] πασσυδίῃ 'with all speed' (πᾶν + root σεύω). Sometimes the meaning is 'all together', and that too is possible here: cf. 42 πανδήμιος.

45 [782] ναιετάεσκον: the usual epic imperfect of ναιετάω is ναιετάασκε/-ον; but -άεσκεν is an occasional variant in Homer, and is regularly attested in Quintus of Smyrna.

ἁλιστεφέων 'crowned, i.e. surrounded, by the sea', a not uncommon metaphor. The better attested reading is ἁλιτρεφέων, 'sea-nurtured'; but elsewhere that word is applied to living things, and (despite the slightly anthropomorphising σφυρά) it seems less likely here.

σφυρὰ νήσων: when used metaphorically of places, σφυρόν suggests an edge or extremity: the 'ankles' of a mountain are what English calls foothills. Here the meaning seems to be 'island-coasts' – presumably the only inhabited parts – rather than 'outlying islands'.

46 [783] Αἱμονίης: a recherché poetic name for Thessaly, Haemon being father of Thessalus. Several well known cults of Aphrodite existed there. Line 45 seems to be introducing a list of islands from which worshippers came; but Thessaly, the first place to be mentioned, is not an island. It seems likely that a complementary line (perhaps beginning ὅσσοι τ') mentioning mainlanders has fallen out of the text.

Κύπρου: home of Aphrodite.

47 [784] Κυθήρων: Cythera (neut. pl.), an island off the south-east tip of the Peloponnese. It had an ancient cult of Aphrodite.

48 [785] Λιβάνου: the myth of Adonis (43 n.) was set near Mt Lebanon in Syria, and a famous sanctuary of Aphrodite was situated on the River Adonis nearby.

θυόεντος: θύον (Lat. *tus*) means 'incense', another word for which is λίβανος. In fact λίβανος is not etymologically connected with the name of Mt Lebanon, and incense did not come from there; but some allusion to these words seems intended in the present line. If Musaeus had used a different word for 'fragrant', one would have assumed a reference to the famous aromatic cedars of Lebanon.

ἐνὶ πτερύγεσσι: wings can project or enfold, so that the meaning here is unclear. The ancient commentator (38 n.) offers ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις (i.e. the peaks are seen as projecting wings); but perhaps the idea is rather of lower, flanking peaks enfolding the mountain like closed wings.

χορεύων: dancing in honour of Aphrodite. τις ἔμιμνεν is to be understood from 47.

50 [787] Φρυγίης: Phrygia, the area immediately east of the Hellespont.

53–4 [790–1] There is a slight grammatical irregularity ('they are eager not so much to sacrifice to the gods as on account of the beauty of

the assembled maidens'), but the sense is clear. The majority of MSS have ἀγειρόμενοι, which some critics have defended with dubious Homeric parallels as being a participle used instead of a main verb; but (i) the sense is inferior; (ii) a Nonnian metrical rule probably followed by Musaeus forbids a proparoxytone word before the caesura (Keydell 38*); (iii) ἀγειρομένων is supported by 34 ἀγρομένηισι ... γυναιξίν. (The alternative MS reading ἀθανάτοις ἀγέμεν cannot be right, since Nonnian poets avoid infinitives in -έμεν: cf. 288 n.)

55–85 [792–822] The attractions of Hero. Desirable and literally graceful, she stirred passions in both youths and men, who all wished hopelessly to possess her.

55–9 [792–6] These lines are inspired by a passage near the beginning of Achilles Tatius' novel (see p. 138) describing Clitophon's first sight of Leucippe: παρθένος ἐκφαίνεταί μοι, καὶ καταστράπτει μου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῶι προσώπωι. τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγώ ποτε ἐπὶ ταύρωι γεγραμμένην Σελήνην ... λευκὴ παρειά, τὸ λευκὸν εἰς μέσον ἐφοινίσσετο καὶ ἐμιμεῖτο πορφύραν ... τὸ στόμα ῥόδων ἄνθος ἦν, ὅταν ἄρχηται τὸ ῥόδον ἀνοίγειν τῶν φύλλων τὰ χείλη ... (1.4.2–3). Achilles' next paragraph is imitated by Musaeus at 92–5: see the note ad loc.

55–6 [792–3] Another passage which illustrates well Musaeus' deliberately repetitive style (cf. 1–15, 30–41 nn.): 54 παρθενικάων, 55 παρθένος; 57, 62 λευκο-; 57 -πάρηιος, 58 παρειῆς; 59 ῥόδον, 60 ῥόδων, 62 ῥόδα; 59 -χροον, 61 χροιή; 60 μελέεσσι, 61, 63 μελέων; 63 χάριτες, 64 Χάριτας, 65 Χαρίτεσσι.

55 [792] ἐπώιχετο 'busied herself'.

56–7 [793–4] Beauty is often described in Greek literature as a bright radiance (cf. Odysseus on the beach at Scherie κάλλεϊ καὶ χάρισι στίλβων, *Od.* 6.237), and sexual attraction is said to be 'cast' by the eyes. Comparison of a beautiful woman with the moon is another commonplace (cf. Sappho, fr. 96.6–9 L–P, Theoc. 18.26–8, Ach. Tat. quoted in 55–9 n.). Here, however, the idea gains extra point from the theme of light which pervades Musaeus' story.

57 [794] λευκοπάρηιος: either the moon's circle is imagined as a cheek, or the personified Moon is imagined as having white cheeks.

58–9 [795–6] The red/white contrast is a common feature of ancient descriptions of beauty.

58 [795] ἄκρα . . . κύκλα παρειῆς: the meaning is unclear; but in view of Achilles Tatius' τὸ λευκὸν εἰς μέσον ἐφοινίσσετο (55–9 n.) it seems likely that the reference is to the middle, most protuberant, part of the cheek rather than to high cheekbones or to the surface of the skin.

59 [796] ὡς ῥόδον ἐκ καλύκων: a cliché of erotic description.

διδυμόχροον: i.e. white below and red at the tips of the newly opened petals.

φαίης: 2nd pers. pres. opt. of φημί. The 'you might say' idea is found already in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 3.220).

60 [797] ῥόδων λειμῶνα: the idea of the body as a beautiful meadow is an erotic commonplace. Similar are images such as ἄνθος ἥβης, 'gather ye rosebuds while ye may', etc. Hero is at the peak of fresh allure.

φανῆναι: 2nd aor. infin. of φαίνομαι.

61–2 [798–9] 'Rosy feet' are often mentioned in erotic contexts, and here similar terms are used to describe the effect of Hero's rosy ankles as she walks: these roses are no less metaphorical than those of line 60. The idea perhaps has its origin in descriptions of flowers blooming beneath the feet of Aphrodite (e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 194–5); and even here the Greek lends itself more easily to that interpretation.

63 [800] πολλαὶ δ' ἐκ μελέων χάριτες ῥέον: the idea of χάρις as 'poured on to' or 'flowing over' someone is commonplace. Here the phraseology is Homeric: *Il.* 16.109–10 (Ajax beset) κὰδ δέ οἱ ἱδρὼς | πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων πολὺς ἔρρεεν.

63–5 [800–2] Amongst the παλαιοί who say that the Graces are three in number the most prominent is Hesiod (*Theog.* 907–11). The conceit that such authorities are liars, and that far more graces are possessed by a person known to the writer, is found first in an epigram by Strato (*AP* 12.181; second century AD); it may have its origins in Hellenistic poetry (see Kost pp. 36–43). The polemical tone, too, is typically Hellenistic.

65 [802] The lodging of grace and beauty in the eyes is a common idea; but in view of the polemical reference in 63–4, Musaeus may allude to Hesiod's description of the Graces: τῶν καὶ ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἔρος εἴβετο (cf. 63 ῥέον) δερκομενάων (*Theog.* 910).

66 [803] εὕρατο: the α-vowel 1st aorist of εὑρίσκω is sketchily attested from Hesiod onwards (fr. 235.3); it is found more frequently in later Greek poetry. The same is the case with δύσατο (69).

67–85 [804–22] Hero captivated all young men; one such youth reflects wistfully on her matchless beauty. Verbal repetition continues: 68 Κύπριδος, Κύπρις, 77 Κύπρις; 69 ἠιθέων, 73 ἠιθέοισιν; 69 ἁπαλάς (of the youths), 76 ἁπαλήν (of Hero); 70 Ἡρώ, 79 Ἡροῦς, 81 Ἡρώ (all at line-end); 76, 83 νέην; 74 ἐπέβην, 79 ἐπιβήμενος; 81, 83 παράκοιτιν; 84 ἄλλοθε δ' ἄλλος.

67 [804] ἀριστεύουσα γυναικῶν: perhaps a modification of the Homeric phrase γυναικῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη (*Od.* 7.57); but ἀριστεύω + gen., 'be best among', is equally Homeric.

68 [805] νέη διεφαίνετο Κύπρις: 33 n.

69–70 [806–7] These lines, together with 79–81, elaborate the suitors' reaction to the appearance of Penelope: πάντες δ' ἠρήσαντο παραὶ λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι (*Od.* 1.366, 18.213).

69 [806] δύσατο: 66 n. She, i.e. her image, entered their minds. Cf. 92–5 n.

ἁπαλάς 'tender', because young and susceptible: the adjective is used of φρένες at Theoc. 13.48 and elsewhere.

αὐτῶν: the MSS read ἀνδρῶν, which is quite acceptable if nothing but the immediate context is considered: she affected not only youths, but also older men. Three lines later, however, ἀνδρῶν must refer to the young people, one of whom proceeds to speak. Dilthey's conjecture αὐτῶν restores coherence: only young men are mentioned, as one would expect from 51–4. οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν/-όν/-ήν, etc., is a common hexameter ending, particularly in Nonnus; ἀνδρῶν originated with a scribe whose eye slipped to the end of 72.

71 [808] κατά 'through', 'in'.

72 [809] The line is probably inspired by Nonnus, *Dion.* 33.235–6 ἑσπόμενον δέ | Χαλκομέδηι νόον εἶχεν ὁμόστολον, which is in turn inspired by Apollonius' description of Medea watching Jason (3.446–7) νόος δέ οἱ ἠύτ' ὄνειρος | ἑρπύζων πεπότητο μετ' ἴχνια νισομένοιο.

73 [810] See 453 n.

καὶ φάτο μῦθον: a common Homeric line-ending.

74–6 [811–13] Cf. Priam's comment on the Greek army, *Il.* 3.184–9 ἤδη καὶ Φρυγίην εἰσήλυθον ἀμπελόεσσαν, | ἔνθα ἴδον πλείστους Φρύγας ... κτλ. | ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἳ τόσοι ἦσαν ὅσοι ἑλίκωπες Ἀχαιοί, 2.798–9, *Od.* 6.160–1; and cf. *Od.* 21.106–10 (Telemachus praising his mother).

75 [812] Homer tells of Σπάρτην καλλιγύναικα (*Od.* 13.412). It seems most likely that the reference here is to festal beauty contests (Καλλιστεῖα) of a type attested for Lesbos and elsewhere (but, perhaps surprisingly, not for Sparta). The words μόθον καὶ ἄεθλον have led some critics to see a reference to the fact that Spartan girls took part in athletic contests (Eur. *Andr.* 597–600); but here that seems less appropriate, and entails an unlikely translation of ἀγλαϊάων as 'beautiful girls' (contrast 104).

76 [813] τοίην δ' οὔ ποτ' ὄπωπα: a combination of *Il.* 6.124 οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ὄπωπα and *Od.* 6.160 οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦτον ἐγὼ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν; though τοίην does not look backwards but qualifies ἰδανήν θ' ἁπαλήν τε. This is another Homeric idiom: cf. *Od.* 3.321 πέλαγος μέγα τοῖον, 'a sea so large'.

ἰδανήν 'beautiful', a very rare adjective cognate with εἴδω (cf. 98 εἶδος ἄριστον). It occurs at Call. fr. 114.9 in the phrase ἰδανὰς Χάριτας; and Χαρίτων μίαν in Musaeus' next line suggests that he may have derived the word from that passage of the *Aetia*. (But the closing rhythm is unique in Musaeus; perhaps therefore the second half of the line is a quotation from some lost poem: cf. 77 n.)

77 [814] Comparison of a beautiful girl with one of the Graces is a stock motif.

Χαρίτων μίαν ὁπλοτεράων: a quotation from *Il.* 14.267 = 275, where Hera promises that she will give Pasithea, 'one of the young Graces', to Hypnos if he will affect Zeus with sleep.

78 [815] παπταίνων ἐμόγησα 'I have grown tired with gazing'.

79 [816] A lovers' cliché. It is first attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 153–4, where Anchises cries βουλοίμην κεν ἔπειτα, γύναι ἐικυῖα θεῇσι, | σῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβὰς δῦναι δόμον Ἄιδος εἴσω; Musaeus here probably alludes to those lines.

αὐτίκα τεθναίην: from *Il.* 18.98. Such will in fact be Leander's fate.

80 [817] οὐχ ἂν . . . ἐφιμείρω: a curious construction. This is in effect the apodosis of a conditional sentence ('if I were married to Hero *I would not wish to be a god*'), and normal usage requires the optative with ἄν/κε. Presumably ἐφιμείρω is subjunctive; but it is possible that Musaeus may have found evidence for ἄν/κε with the present indicative in his MSS of Homer (see K.–G. I 210).

83 [820] Perhaps an echo of Nausicaa's reflection on Odysseus at *Od.* 6.244 αἲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοιόσδε πόσις κεκλημένος εἴη, and of Odysseus' wish for her σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν ὅσα φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς, | ἄνδρα τε καὶ οἶκον . . . ὀπάσειαν (ibid. 180–1).

νέην: a noun, with τοίην, as in 76.

ὀπάσσοις: in later Greek the aorist optative was sometimes given present-tense endings, i.e. with -ο- rather than -α- vowel.

84 [821] ἄλλοθε δ' ἄλλος: young men 'on this side and on that', wherever she walked.

85 [822] ὑποκλέπτων 'keeping secret': cf. 87.

86–100 [823–37] Leander, too, was struck with desire kindled in his heart by Hero's glances. Desire having overcome his other emotions, he found courage to approach Hero, who returned his looks of love. Repetition emphasises the reciprocity of their desire: 85, 86, 100, 102, 108 (112, 114, 117) κούρη/-ην/-ης at line-end (Leander's obsessive pursuit); 88 πυρι-, 90 πυρσός, 91 πυρός; 89 -καλλέος, 92, 95 κάλλος; 94 ὀφθαλμός, -οῖο; 94 ὁδός, 95 ὁδεύει; 96 θάμβος, 98 θάμβεε; 96, 97 αἰδώς, 98 αἰδῶ, 99 ἀναιδείην; 101 δολεράς, 103 δολόεντα; 101 ὀπιπεύων, ὀπωπάς (of Leander), 105 ὀπωπήν (of Hero); 102 νεύμασιν ἀφθόγγοισι (of Leander), 106 νεύμασι λαθριδίοισιν (of Hero); 103 συνέηκε πόθον (of Hero), 108 πόθον συνέηκε (of Leander), 87–8 -οισι, -οις.

86 [823] αἰνοπαθὲς Λείανδρε: this epithet is used of the drowning Leander at 319: for him both desire and its gratification involve toil and suffering. (Cf. 301, where he is called καρτερόθυμε for his daring swim.) The narrator's apostrophe to a character is familiar from Homer (Μενέλαε, δῖε συβῶτα, etc.).

88 [825] πυριβλήτοισι 'which strike with fire' (not, as one would expect, 'struck by fire').

δαμείς: 2nd aor. pass. part. of δαμάζω.

90 [827] σὺν βλεφάρων . . . ἀκτῖσιν: the more he looked, the more he desired. βλέφαρα is frequently used for 'eyes' in poetry.

91 [828] πάφλαζεν 'seethed': the imagery is of liquid boiled by the heat of love. Musaeus may here be inspired by Plato, *Phdr.* 251c, where of the soul affected by love it is said ζεῖ . . . καὶ ἀνακηκίει, 'it boils and bubbles up'.

πυρὸς ὁρμῇι: from *Il.* 11.157, but in common use in hexameter poetry.

92–5 [829–32] These lines are inspired by a passage of Achilles Tatius (cf. 55–9 n.), where Clitophon falls in love at first sight with Leucippe: ὡς δὲ εἶδον, εὐθὺς ἀπωλώλειν· κάλλος γὰρ ὀξύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρεῖ· ὀφθαλμὸς γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐρωτικῶι τραύματι (1.4.4). The theory that beauty enters the soul through the eyes, and the symptoms accompanying that experience, were set out most memorably by Plato in the *Phaedrus* (251b, 255c; cf. 91 n.), and were often alluded to by later writers.

94–5 [831–2] When one casts one's sight on a beautiful object, its beauty slips through the eyes and travels to the heart/mind.

96–8 [833–5] These lines continue to echo Achilles Tatius (cf. 92–5 n.): πάντα δέ με εἶχεν ὁμοῦ, ἔπαινος, ἔκπληξις, τρόμος, αἰδώς, ἀναίδεια· ἐπήινουν τὸ μέγεθος, ἐξεπεπλήγμην τὸ κάλλος, ἔτρεμον τὴν καρδίαν, ἔβλεπον ἀναιδῶς, ἠιδούμην ἁλῶναι (1.4.5).

97 [834] αἰδὼς . . . ἁλῶναι: shame at being caught by love (not at being detected in staring at Hero).

98 [835] εἶδος ἄριστον: a Homeric-sounding phrase (*Il.* 3.39 εἶδος ἄριστε, etc.).

99 [836] 'Boldly embracing the shameless course of action, prompted by love'; or, with West's θαρσαλέος, 'emboldened by love, embracing the shameless course'.

101 [838] 'Looking sidelong he darted cunning glances.' The following lines, with their intertwining of beauty and meaningful glances, illustrate further the theory described in 92–5.

104 [841] ἐν ἡσυχίῃ parallels ἀφθόγγοισι (102).

105 [842] ἐπέκυψεν ὀπωπήν 'bent her gaze' on Leander. (This transitive use of ἐπικύπτω is not recorded by LSJ.)

106 [843] ἐπαγγέλλουσα 'giving encouragement', intransitive.

107 [844] καὶ πάλιν ἀντέκλινεν 'and turned her glance away again' (sc. ὀπωπήν from 105). Cf. *Il.* 3.427 ὄσσε πάλιν κλίνασα (meaning doubtful), Ap. Rh. 1.790, 3.1008 ἐγκλιδὸν ὄσσε βαλοῦσα.

109–59 [846–96] Emboldened by the coming of darkness, Leander pressed his advances. Hero reproached his forwardness; but in her words he recognised encouragement for his suit. After an elaborately eulogistic address he urged her to enact the mysteries of Aphrodite and to accept him as a lover sent by Eros, as Heracles was sent to serve Omphale; let her not forget the cautionary tale of Atalanta, who avoided the bed of Milanion.

Repetitions of the word κούρη (86–100 n.) give way to emphasis on παρθένος and παρθενική (123, 127, 128, 130, 133, 143, 144, 152, 155) as Leander works towards his goal. His tactics appear to be inspired by Ach. Tat. 2.4.4, where Clitophon is given advice in wooing: θίγε χειρός, θλῖψον δάκτυλον (~114), θλίβων στέναξον (~114). ἣν δὲ ... καρτερῇ ... σὸν ἔργον ἤδη δέσποινάν τε καλεῖν καὶ φιλῆσαι τράχηλον (~133).

109 [846] λάθριον ὥρην: a time when he could set to work without being noticed.

110–11 [847–8] A traditional epic description of nightfall (cf. 232–3).

110 [847] φέγγος ἀναστείλασα 'having curbed her light'.
Ἠώς 'day' (not 'dawn').

111 [848] βαθύσκιος 'deep-shadowed', because it rises as the shadows deepen.

113 [850] κυανόπεπλον: night clothed in black is a common poetic image (e.g. Eur. *Ion* 1150 μελάμπεπλος ... Νύξ): cf. 232.

114 [851] ῥοδοειδέα δάκτυλα: cf. 60–2. The image is a common one, but by using it here Musaeus may allude to the Homeric ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς: the day has set (110 Ἠώς), but Hero is Leander's light.

115 [852] βυσσόθεν ἐστενάχιζεν ἀθέσφατον: perhaps an echo of *Il.* 10.9–10 ὣς πυκίν' ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀναστενάχιζ' Ἀγαμέμνων | νειόθεν ἐκ κραδίης (war ~ love).

116 [853] οἷά τε 'as if'; cf. 121 οἷά περ.
ἐξέσπασε χεῖρα: probably inspired by *Od.* 2.321 ἐκ χειρὸς χεῖρα σπάσατ' Ἀντινόοιο.

117 [854] χαλίφρονα 'yielding', cognate with χαλάω, 'slacken'. Her looks belie her movement of rejection.

119 [856] τιμήεντος 'honoured', i.e. sacred.
ἔσχατα ... κεύθεα νηοῦ: the inner sanctuary or adyton.

121 [858] ἀνενείκατο 'brought up', as one might a sigh: aor. mid. of ἀναφέρω. This is a common word for introducing speech in later hexameter poetry; cf. 172.

123 [860] δύσμορε: ironical, since his μόρος is to be worse than Hero can know.

124 [861] †ἄλλην δεῦρο κέλευθον†: these words have not been satisfactorily explained or emended. Those who wish to keep them translate 'come here by another way', i.e. 'use a different way to gain your end'; by this they understand the way of persuasion. But (i) this strikes a note of encouragement in Hero's otherwise entirely negative speech; (ii) the metaphorical use of imperatival δεῦρο sounds strange (and is not to be defended by e.g. 248 δεῦρό μοι εἰς φιλότητα, where as usual a particular place is in question). Other critics understand the sense to run on from 123 ('why do you drag me, a virgin, here along this other way?'); but the words have to be forced into giving sense, and δ' is very odd unless an imperative precedes ('do X *and* let go of my robe'). These meanings being unsatisfactory, other critics have emended κέλευθον to an imperative parallel to ἀπόλειπε: Patzig suggested κάλεσσον, Köchly κέλευσον, 'call some other girl here and/but leave *my* robe alone'. Thus by the change of a single letter (in Köchly's version) a much needed verb is supplied, and a pointed contrast is created between ἄλλην and

ἐμόν. However, the sense is still rather strange, and seems inappropriate in Hero's mouth: from the tone of the rest of her speech one expects here some strong prohibition (e.g. ἄλλην ἔρρε κέλευθον, 'be gone by some other way').

125 [862] ἀλέεινε 'avoid': cf. *Od.*1.433 χόλον δ' ἀλέεινε γυναικός, 13.148 σὸν αἰεὶ θυμὸν ... ἀλεείνω. The MSS read ἀπόειπε, 'renounce', which gives very poor sense. It might be thought to be supported by *Il.* 19.35 μῆνιν ἀποειπὼν Ἀγαμέμνονι; but there ἀποειπών has its usual meaning ('renounce your anger against Agamemnon'). Probably the corruption arose from scribal reminiscence of the Homeric passage, or from a miscopying because of ἀπόλειπε in the previous line.

πολυκτεάνων: i.e. not to be trifled with.

126 [863] Cf. 82.

127 [864] ἀμήχανον 'impossible', literally 'uncontrivable'.

129 [866] οἶστρον ἀπειλῆς 'stinging threats', a Nonnian expression (*Dion.* 3.322).

131–2 [868–9] Another explanatory parenthesis by the narrator (cf. 92–5): a vehement rebuff is a sure guarantee of love. This is another erotic commonplace: cf. Ovid, *Ars am.* 1.665–6 *pugnabit primo fortassis et 'improbe' dicet; | pugnando uinci se tamen illa uolet.*

132 [869] ὀάρων: lovers' converse.

αὐτάγγελοί εἰσιν 'are themselves heralds of ...', 'presage'.

134 [871] οἴστρωι echoes οἶστρον ἀπειλῆς (129) – another repetition linking Hero with Leander.

135–40 [872–7] These lines allude to Odysseus' supplication of Nausicaa: for 135–7 cf. *Od.* 6.150–2 εἰ μέν τις θεός ἐσσι ... | Ἀρτέμιδί σε ἐγώ γε, Διὸς κούρηι μεγάλοιο, | ... εἴσκω; for 138–9 cf. ibid. 154–9 τρισμάκαρες μέν σοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ ... | (158) κεῖνος δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος ἔξοχον ἄλλων, | ὅς κέ σ' ἐέδνοισι βρίσας οἶκόνδ' ἀγάγηται; for 139–40 cf. ibid. 175 ἀλλά, ἄνασσ', ἐλέαιρε, κτλ. The reference looks forward to the nexus of allusions to Odysseus' shipwreck during Leander's fateful crossing (see p. 138).

135 [872] μετά 'next after', i.e. in beauty she is second only to Aphrodite, in modesty second only to Athena. Cf. 33 ἄλλη Κύπρις ἄνασσα, 38, 68 Κύπριδος ἀρήτειρα νέη διεφαίνετο Κύπρις.

137 [874] Διὸς Κρονίωνος: a Homeric phrase.

138–9 [875–6] The μακαρισμός, imitated here from Odysseus' words to Nausicaa (135–40 n.), is a common technique of formal praise.

138 [875] τέκε μήτηρ: a Homeric line-ending.

139 [876] ἀλλά is often used as the transition from appeal to actual prayer ('but come now ...'): cf. Denniston, *GP* 13–15.

140 [877] πόθου ... ἀνάγκην 'my compulsive desire', literally 'the compulsiveness of my desire'.

141–3 [878–80] These lines echo the advice of Zeus to Aphrodite when she has returned wounded from the battlefield (*Il.* 5.428–9): οὔ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται πολεμήια ἔργα, | ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο. In Musaeus, however, the words recommend not a return to normal pursuits but a new course of action. The Homeric words come via Nonnus, *Dion.* 42.373 (Dionysus wooing Beroe) Κύπριδος αἷμα φέρουσα τί Κύπριδος ὄργια φεύγεις;

141 [878] ὡς 'as', i.e. 'since you are'.

142 [879] δεῦρ' ἴθι: a Homeric phrase.

μυστιπόλευε γαμήλια θεσμά 'perform the mystic marriage-rites'. In erotic writing sexual activity is often described as a mystery and participation in it as an initiation, the first sexual act revealing knowledge not possessed before.

143 [880] οὐκ ἐπέοικεν: Leander turns Hero's argument (126) to his own ends.

143, 146 [880, 883] Our MSS have Ἀφροδίτην (-ηι, -ης) at the end of 143 and Κυθέρειαν at the end of 146; but since in the remainder of the poem Musaeus follows Nonnus in avoiding proparoxytone words at line-end, it seems best to adopt the transposition of Ludwich, reading Ἀφροδίτην in 146 and the paroxytone dative Κυθερείηι in 143. The fact that the majority of MSS read the ungrammatical accusative in 143 supports the transposition.

145 [882] ὄργια κεδνά, 'true rites', continues the mystery imagery from 142.

148 [885] κόμιζε 'receive'.

149 [886] The notion of Eros as hunter was a very common one.

150–1 [887–8] Zeus declared that as atonement for his murder of Iphitus Heracles should for a certain time be sold as a slave to Omphale, daughter of Iordanes and queen of Lydia; Hermes was deputed to conduct the sale (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.3, with Frazer's notes). The story is alluded to by Achilles Tatius (2.6.2), and Musaeus may have borrowed it from there.

150 [887] χρυσόρραπις: Hermes carried a golden staff as token of his divine messengership (*Od.* 5.87, etc.).

151 [888] ἐκόμισσεν 'brought' – not the same meaning as in 148.

152 [889] καὶ οὐ '(but) not': adversative, as at 233 and often in Nonnus.

σοφὸς . . . Ἑρμῆς: i.e. my approach involves no cleverness or deceit, but is rather a mission direct from Cypris. The alternative interpretation, that Leander here regrets his lack of σοφία and implies a contrast with the blindness of his love, seems less likely. Ludwich was satisfied with neither explanation, and wrote θοός (cf. 150).

153–6 [890–3] By rejecting her suitor Milanion and by prizing her virginity, Atalanta incurred the wrath of Aphrodite, who saw to it that she should desire her lover with a vengeance. For the various legends of Atalanta's wooing, and for their sources, see the notes of Frazer on Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.9.2. Musaeus alludes to a tale not attested elsewhere in all its details. Several sources tell of Milanion's patient and at last successful devotion to the roaming Arcadian huntress Atalanta, but they make no reference to the anger of Aphrodite. An alternative Boeotian story is that of Hippomenes, who is given golden apples by an Aphrodite angered at the girl's stubborn chastity, and who wins a foot-race, to which all suitors must submit, by dropping the apples to delay her pursuit. Probably some lost source (perhaps a Hellenistic poem) told a story in which Milanion was similarly helped by the goddess.

153 [890] οὔ σε λέληθεν = 'you know well . . .'

156 [893] ἐνὶ κραδίηι θέτο πάσηι 'took him completely to her heart'. Ovid's Hero addresses Leander with the words *o penitus toto corde recepte mihi* (*Heroides* 19.156).

157 [894] The line answers Hero's warning at 125: the μῆνις of Aphrodite is more to be feared than that of parents, however powerful.

158 [895] ὣς εἰπὼν παρέπεισεν: a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 7.120 = 13.788, both with φρένας), used several times by Nonnus.

159 [896] Cf. 102: she is won over first by nods and becks, then by words.

ἐνί, if sound, is the instrumental use (LSJ s.v. ἐν III): cf. the Homeric ἐν . . . πυρὶ πρήσαντες (*Il.* 7.429), etc. Köchly conjectured ἕο ('his words').

160–95 [897–932] In silently pondering Leander's words, Hero reveals her growing passion to his consuming gaze. At last she speaks, dwelling on the difficulties of marriage with a foreigner before asking her suitor's name and giving details about herself and her unhappy existence. The first part of her speech alludes to aspects of the meeting between Odysseus and Nausicaa in book 6 of the *Odyssey*: see 178, 179–80, 183 nn.

160 [897] This line probably echoes Ap. Rh. 3.422–3 (Jason's reaction to the harsh speech of Aeetes) ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη· ὁ δὲ σῖγα ποδῶν πάρος ὄμματα πήξας | ἧστ' αὔτως ἄφθογγος.

161 [898] ὑποκλέπτουσα: she tries to hide her blushes by looking at the ground. Contrast 85 n.

162 [899] ὑπ': probably 'with', the instrumental use (LSJ s.v. B.II), rather than 'beneath'. She bashfully scrapes the ground with her foot.

163 [900] ἑὸν συνέεργε χιτῶνα: cf. *Od.* 14.72 (Eumaeus) ζωστῆρι θοῶς συνέεργε χιτῶνα. The phrase ἀμφ' ὤμοισι is common in Homer.

164–5 [901–2] The narrator intervenes (cf. 131–2) to explain that in matters such as this silence gives consent. The idea is a commonplace in Greek erotic (and other) contexts.

165 [902] ποτὶ λέκτρον: with πειθομένης.

166 [903] γλυκύπικρον: a common erotic oxymoron. The best-known passage in which the epithet itself is used is Sappho, fr. 130.2 L–P (Eros) γλυκύπικρον ἀμάχανον ὄρπετον. The κέντρον ἐρώτων and γλυκερὸν πῦρ (167) are equally familiar in love-poetry.

168 [905] ἀνεπτοίητο 'she had been startled'; but πτοέω is very often used of sexual excitement.

170 [907] προσώποις: Homer always uses the plural of πρόσωπον; but at 173 Musaeus has the singular. Possibly the present line alludes to Ach. Tat. 1.5.3 ὅλοις ἔβλεπον τὴν κόρην τοῖς προσώποις.

173 [910] 'Letting drop from her face shame's damp blush.' Sweating and blushing are often mentioned together as symptoms of passion: cf. Sappho, fr. 31.10, 13 L–P, Plato, *Phdr.* 251a ἰδόντα ... ἱδρὼς καὶ θερμότης ἀήθης λαμβάνει (see 91, 92–5 nn.). Here Musaeus seems to have curiously combined the two ideas. Alternatively the words may be metaphorical, the blush itself being pictured as damp: cf. ibid. 251b τοῦ κάλλους τὴν ἀπορροήν.

174 [911] καὶ πέτρον ὀρίναις: a proverbial notion expressed here after the model of the Homeric phrase θυμὸν ὀρίνειν, itself often used for the effects of speech (*Il.* 11.792–3, *Od.* 14.361–2, etc.).

175 [912] πολυπλανέων: the meaning depends on whether the word is thought to derive from πλανάω, 'make wander', 'set astray', or from πλανάομαι, 'wander'. 'Words that greatly deceive' makes good sense; but 'words ranging far and wide' suits the imagery of κελεύθους better, and might refer to the persuasion and learning of Leander's speech at 135–57. The line as a whole may hint at Leander's future toils.

176 [913] She does not refer to Leander's imaginative account of his mission (150–2).

εἰς πατρίδα γαῖαν: a common Homeric line-ending.

178 [915] ἄπιστος: foreigners and strangers were notoriously perfidious in love (Jason and Medea, Theseus and Ariadne, Aeneas and Dido, etc.). Here the emphasis on Leander's being ξεῖνος and ἀλήτης, though his town is not far distant, is probably due to Homeric allusion: at *Od.* 6.276–9 Nausicaa fears that one of her countrymen might speak harshly of her if she is accompanied by the ξεῖνος Odysseus: "ἦ τινά που πλαγχθέντα κομίσσατο ἧς ἀπὸ νηός | ἀνδρῶν τηλεδαπῶν;" (cf. Ap. Rh. 3.891–2). Cf. 337.

φιλότητι μιγείης: a Homeric line-ending.

179–80 [916–17] Another allusion to the Nausicaa episode: at *Od.* 6.287–8 she fears that someone will say ἀέκητι φίλων πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἐόντων | ἀνδράσι μίσγηται πρίν γ' ἀμφάδιον γάμον ἐλθεῖν.

179 [916] 'We cannot openly come near to holy wedlock' (LSJ s.v. πελάζω A.II).

180 [917] ἐπεύαδεν: from ἐφανδάνω. The aorist implies that they have already announced their intention.

181 [918] ὡς 'as', i.e. 'being, as you are': cf. 141.

ξεῖνος πολύφοιτος, 'a much-roaming stranger' (cf. 177 ἀλήτης), seems to make acceptable sense even in a sentence that dwells on Leander's remaining in one place. πολύφοιτος occurs only here in extant Greek. Some MSS read the equally unique πολύφευκτος, 'to be completely shunned', which seems less apt; more likely to be correct is the emendation περίφοιτος, a word used several times by Nonnus of wanderers, and by Callimachus of an inconstant lover (*AP* 12.43.3; *HE* 1043; Pfeiffer 28.3; *HA* p. 86).

ἐμὴν εἰς πατρίδα μίμνειν: this locatival use of εἰς for ἐν, common in the κοινή (Moulton–Turner III 254–6), is found several times in Nonnus.

182 [919] ὑποκλέπτειν 'keep secret'.

183 [920] γλῶσσα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων φιλοκέρτομος: the idea that people are quick to mock and criticise is probably suggested by the critical speech invented by Nausicaa at *Od.* 6.276–84 (178 n.).

186 [923] ἐμοί: choice is difficult between this word and ἔχω of some MSS. ἐμοί gives better sense and can be defended by *Od.* 19.183 ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἴθων (cf. Mus. 220 οὔνομά μοι Λείανδρος); but it could be objected that familiarity with this phrase may have led a scribe to corrupt the less obvious ἔχω, and that Musaeus wished subtly to vary his source; or that ἐμοί arose from the preceding ἐμόν and following ἐμός (187).

187 [924] ἀμφιβόητος: the common meaning of ἀμφιβόητος and περιβόητος is 'famous' (lit. 'shouted all around'), and that seems suitable here, Hero emphasising that she and her unusual dwelling are well known (cf. 184 ὄνομα κλυτόν, 125). It is possible, though less likely, that the meaning is 'surrounded by noise': βοάω is used of the sound of waves (*Il.* 14.394, etc.), and at 193 Hero speaks of their constant noise.

188 [925] σὺν ἀμφιπόλωι τινὶ μούνηι: cf. *Od.* 23.227 (a trusty maid of Odysseus and Penelope) οἶοι σύ τ' ἐγώ τε καὶ ἀμφίπολος μία μούνη. Hero dwells on her isolation and loneliness. Reference to this maid leads us to expect her taking the role of go-between, as is so often the case in clandestine affairs of this sort; but we hear no more of her. Perhaps Musaeus' source gave her a more prominent part.

189 [926] ὑπὲρ βαθυκύμονας ὄχθας 'above the deep-waved banks', i.e. on the heights above the shore which is washed by deep waves. ὑπέρ + accusative meaning 'above' is a late Greek usage.

190 [927] στυγεραῖς βουλῆισι τοκήων: this hardly corresponds with 30–41, with which this whole passage should be compared: there it seemed that her seclusion was owing to modesty and to her role as priestess. It has been suggested that Musaeus here inappropriately takes over the folktale theme of the girl immured by her parents. It seems more likely that the frustrated Hero is made to give a biased view of the truth. Much depends on the meaning of πύργον ἀπὸ προγόνων in 32: see the note *ad loc.*

192 [929] ἀνὰ νύκτα: a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 14.80); cf. *Od.* 10.28 νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ.

195 [932] ἔμπαλιν: not merely 'again', but with a notion of contrariety: she changed her mind and regretted having spoken.

σφετέροις δ' ἐπεμέμφετο μύθοις: elsewhere ἐπιμέμφομαι takes the dative of the person blamed but the accusative or genitive of the cause for blame. Here the dative is used because σφετέροις ... μύθοις = 'herself'.

σφετέροις: originally σφέτερος was the 3rd pers. pl. possessive adjective, 'their' (<σφεῖς), but its extension to the meaning 'own' in all persons began early in Greek (cf. Hes. *WD* 2).

196–220 [933–57] Inspired by cunning Eros, Leander undertakes to swim each night across the Hellespont. He instructs Hero in the importance of keeping lit a lamp to guide him. Finally he tells her his name.

196 [933] βεβολημένος ὀξέι κέντρωι: he is spurred on by his desire. Cf. 134.

197 [934] Leander considered what might be his best tactics.

198–201 [935–8] Another instructional intervention by the narrator: Eros both wounds and counsels, and those whom he affects are at the same time made ingenious enough to attain their object and thus to be cured. This is a common theme in erotic tales: cf. Call. fr. 67.1–3 (*HA 41–3*) αὐτὸς Ἔρως ἐδίδαξεν Ἀκόντιον ... τέχνην. Here with the words δαμάσσας ... καὶ πάλιν ... ἀκέσσεται Musaeus echoes the proverb ὁ τρώσας (καὶ) ἰάσεται (*Paroem. Gr.* 2.762–3); that in turn has its origin in the story of Telephus, for which see *170–1* n.

199 [936] καὶ πάλιν 'again', like the Homeric αὖ πάλιν, etc.; but the text is suspect here. It would be easy to follow some MSS in reading δαμάζει in 198 and hence to give καί its normal meaning (cf. 107); but (i) 'having overcome' makes better sense than a present tense; (ii) the proverb to which Musaeus alludes (198–201 n.) has ὁ τρώσας and, in some versions, καὶ ἰάσεται.

ἀνέρος: the repetition after ἄνδρα (198) sounds clumsy.

ἀκέσσεται: in generalisations Greek uses the future as well as the present and aorist (K.–G. 1 171–2); this idiom is occasionally found in English (e.g. 'good will always triumph over evil').

200–1 [937–8] αὐτὸς ... αὐτός: cf. Call. fr. 67.1 (198–201 n.).

201 [938] καί: with τότε, 'in that instance, too'.

202 [939] ὀψέ points the parallel with Leander's speech: cf. 172.

ἀλαστήσας 'vehemently', or perhaps 'distractedly' – a rare word of debated meaning. In Homer (ἐπ)ἀλαστέω is thought by some to mean 'be wrathful' (*Il.* 12.163, 15.21, *Od.* 1.252); but some other sort of passion is appropriate here.

203–9 [940–6] The protestation that one is prepared to go through fire and water for one's beloved is common in ancient literature; but Leander fulfils literally part of the cliché.

203–4 [940–1] καὶ ... | εἰ: cf. *Il.* 20.371–2 (Hector determines to face Achilles) τοῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀντίος εἶμι, καὶ εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικεν, | εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε. εἰ seems to stand for καὶ εἰ, 'even if' (καί in 203 is with ἄγριον οἶδμα, and here the obvious crasis κεἰ is forbidden by Musaeus' practice).

παφλάζοιτο ... ἔσσεται: the variation between present optative and future indicative is due to metrical convenience. Similar variations

(though not within a single line) are found in Nonnus (e.g. *Dion.* 27.176 ~ 182); cf. 205 τρομέω ~ 206 περιπτώσσοιμι (both with future sense), 212 ἔσσομαι ~ 215 ἱκοίμην (both governed by ὄφρα in 211).

205 [942] The choice between βαρὺ χεῖμα, 'heavy storm', and βαθὺ χεῦμα, 'deep stream' (a common expression), is difficult; but the former seems to look forward to 293–4 ἐπήλυθε χείματος ὥρη, κτλ.

μετανεύμενος 'going after', i.e. 'in quest of': pres. part. of μετανέομαι.

208 [945] Ἑλλήσποντον ἀγάρροον: from *Il.* 2.845; simple accusative after νήξομαι, as English 'swim the Hellespont'.

209 [946] ἀντία: adverbial (cf. 16), + genitive.

211 [948] ἐκ περάτης 'from [i.e. on] the horizon'.

211–12 [948–9] ὄφρα . . . | ἔσσομαι: occasionally in verse the subjunctive in final clauses is replaced by a future indicative (Goodwin, *GMT* §324).

212 [949] ὁλκὰς Ἔρωτος 'ship of Love': cf. 255 and n. ad loc.

ἔχων σέθεν ἀστέρα λύχνον 'having your lamp as my ⟨guiding⟩ star'. Cf. 10, 306.

213–14 [950–1] These lines allude to the Homeric description of Odysseus joyfully setting sail at last from Calypso's island: οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτε | Πληϊάδας τ' ἐσορῶντι καὶ ὀψὲ δύοντα Βοώτην | Ἄρκτον θ', ἣν καὶ Ἄμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν, | ἥ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καί τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει, | οἴη τ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο (*Od.* 5.271–5). Leander feels that he will have a guide more trusty than these constellations.

213 [950] ὀψὲ δύοντα Βοώτην: a quotation from *Od.* 5.272 (213–14 n.). ὀψὲ δύοντα probably means 'setting late in the year' (in fact in early November), but other interpretations are possible: see Hainsworth's note on *Od.* 5.272. Boötes is the constellation of which Arcturus is the most prominent member.

Most hexameter poets, including Nonnus and Musaeus elsewhere in his poem, avoid word-break after the second syllable of a dactylic fourth foot ('Hermann's Bridge': West, *GM* 37–8); but Musaeus has allowed the rule to be breached in this quotation. (It seems therefore

unnecessary to follow Friedländer in writing ὀψεδύοντα – which should in any case have been ὀψιδύοντα.)

214 [951] θρασὺν Ὠρίωνα and **ἄβροχον ὁλκὸν Ἀμάξης** are Nonnian phrases (*Dion.* 20.83, 38.336; 23.295). θρασύν refers to Orion's attempt on the chastity of Artemis (see Frazer's notes on Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.4–5 and cf. *Il.* 18.486 τό τε σθένος Ὠρίωνος); ἄβροχον ὁλκόν, 'unwetted path', sums up *Od.* 5.275 (the Wain never sets in the sea).

215 [952] πατρίδος ἀντιπόροιο: the meaning seems to be 'my homeland on the opposite shore': Leander speaks of Sestos as his homeland, just as in 220 he speaks of himself as Hero's husband. Cf. Ovid, *Heroid.* 18.128 (Leander to Hero) *tam tua terra mihi, quam tibi nostra placet.* This explanation has not convinced all critics: Dilthey, for example, conjectured Κύπριδος instead of πατρίδος.

ἱκοίμην is governed by ὄφρα (204 n.). In Classical Greek the optative in final clauses after primary tenses (211 ἀνάφαινε) is hardly attested (Goodwin, *GMT* §322), but in Nonnus it is quite common (Keydell 76*).

216 [953] πεφύλαξο 'watch out for'. Here the perfect tense is used for metrical convenience, and does not differ in meaning from the present (sim. Hes. *WD* 797).

βαρὺ πνείοντας ἀήτας: modelled on the Homeric λιγὺ πνείοντας ἀήτας (*Od.* 4.567). Cf. 309.

217–18 [954–5] The text has been suspected here; but the brief parenthetical clause in the second half of the line is a Nonnian characteristic, and μιν anticipating λύχνον seems acceptable (cf. *Od.* 1.194–5 δὴ γάρ μιν ἔφαντ' ἐπιδήμιον εἶναι, | σὸν πατέρ').

219–20 [956–7] Cf. *Il.* 6.150–1 (Glaucus to Diomedes) εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι, ὄφρ' ἐῢ εἰδῇς | ἡμετέρην γενέην, πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἴσασιν.

219 [956] εἰ ἐτεὸν δ' ἐθέλεις: it is tempting to adopt the emendation εἰ δ' ἐτεόν γ' ἐθέλεις, avoiding the hiatus and approximating more closely to the beginning of *Il.* 6.150 (219–20 n.); but Nonnus uses γε only in the anaphoric pronouns ὅ γε, ἥ γε, etc., and he does have εἰ ἐτεόν, imitated from many other Homeric passages (Keydell 41*).

καὶ σύ 'you in your turn'.

220 [957] ἐυστεφάνου πόσις Ἡροῦς: perhaps not presumptuousness, but an attempt to link his name inextricably with hers. The expression is modelled on the common Homeric formula for Zeus ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης (*Il.* 7.411, etc.).

ἐυστεφάνου: a common epithet of Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.267, etc.). Leander began by explicitly comparing Hero to the goddess whom she serves (135); here he closes with a similar but less direct comparison.

221–31 [958–68] Having made these arrangements, the lovers part and wait impatiently for nightfall.

221 [958] Cf. 289: there, too, μέν has no corresponding δέ.

συνέθεντο 'they agreed to' (LSJ s.v. συντίθημι B.II.2).

222–3 [959–60] 'They commended their nightly love and the heralding of their "marriage" to the lamp as witness, to be guard over.' The lamp will both guide Leander and watch over their lovemaking once he has arrived.

223 [960] φυλάσσειν: epexegetic infinitive. Cf. 12.

224 [961] ἡ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ: sc. ἐπιστώσαντο.

τανύειν: literally 'stretch out'; but in Nonnus the word has a wide variety of meanings, of which 'hold up' is most suitable here.

225 [962] παννυχίδας: cf. 230, 285. The conceit of lovemaking as an all-night celebration is common in erotic writings.

ἀνέσαντες 'having deferred', a sense unattested for ἀνίημι elsewhere in Greek. Keydell defended the word with ingenuity (*Prolegomena* 2 (1953) 138, *Gnomon* 41 (1969) 740; *Kl. Schr.* (1982) 623, 628): ἀνέσαντες occurs once in Homer (*Il.* 13.657), of putting someone up on to a waggon, and some ancient commentators explained it there with the synonym ἀναθέντες; Musaeus might therefore have thought that ἀνέσαντες could be used for the whole range of meanings of ἀναθέντες, including 'defer', 'put off' (for ἀνατίθημι = 'defer' see *TGL* 2.589; not in LSJ). But this seems rather contorted, and credits the γραμματικός Musaeus with little common sense. Rohde cut the knot and emended to ἀναθέντες, Schwabe to ὁμόσαντες, Ludwich to ὁρίσαντες ('laying down ⟨the time for⟩ their nocturnal meeting'). Any of these may be right. (Most MSS read ἀνύσαντες, 'having accomplished'; but the consummation did not take place until later that night.)

ἀκοιμήτων ὑμεναίων: 12 n.

227–9 [964–6] A very difficult passage, almost certainly corrupt; though where the corruption lies, and what the sense ought to be, is not clear. The lines as printed seem to mean 'she ⟨went off⟩ to her tower, and he sailed to the broad city of Abydos with its deep foundations, having taken the landmark of the tower so that he would not go at all astray in the dark night'. Difficulties include the genuineness and position of line 228; the punctuation and the variants μηδέ ~ μή τι; and the choice between, and possible meaning of, the phrases λαβὼν σημήια πύργου and βαλὼν σημήια πύργωι.

(i) Schwabe suggested that 228 be deleted; but why should it have been interpolated? Rohde wished to place it after 254. Certainly it would make good sense there if λαβών were read ('he aimed for the lamp in case he should stray, taking his bearings from the tower'); and it may at first sight seem that 227–9 read better without 228. In fact, however, the line is necessary for the sense: ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα must be shown to refer to the coming night, not to the dusk in which Leander sails back home. Night has not yet arrived (despite 110–13): at 231 the lovers are still praying for θαλαμηπόλον ὄρφνην.

(ii) Line 227 is rhythmically similar to 224, and some editors have wished to make perfect the correspondence by heavy punctuation at the end of 227. To this there are several objections: (*a*) the difficulty of referring ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα to the immediate present – see (i) above; (*b*) the fact that the real parallel to Hero's πύργον is not νύκτα but δῆμον Ἀβύδου in 229; (*c*) the awkwardness of beginning 228 as a new sentence with μηδέ or μὴ δέ. It seems, then, that 227–9 must form a single period (admittedly rather more complex in construction than is Musaeus' usual style), and that the syntax must continue with the words μή τι.

(iii) No completely convincing explanation has been made of the second half of 228; though several, all more or less improbable, must be discussed. (*a*) With βαλὼν σημήια πύργωι: (1) If ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα refers to the coming night, as argued above, then 'he sailed to Abydos having first placed signals on the tower so that he would not

⟨later⟩ go astray' during his swim. For βάλλω = 'place' see LSJ s.v. II.6. But what signals are these? All is later to depend on the fact that Hero's lamp will be his only guide. (2) If ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα refers, on the contrary, to his present sailing, then 'he sailed to Abydos having first placed signals so that he would not go astray' while on board ship. But the creation of a lighthouse, though possibly a prudent action, is hardly one on which Musaeus would here choose to dwell. (*b*) With λαβὼν σημήια πύργου: (1) If ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα refers to the coming night, as argued above, then 'he sailed to Abydos having taken the landmark of the tower so that he would not ⟨later⟩ go astray' during his swim. But why need he note the position of the tower now, when its light will be clearly visible later? (2) If ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα refers, on the contrary, to his present sailing, then 'he sailed to Abydos having taken the landmark of the tower so that he would not go astray' while on board ship. This interpretation, since it was favoured by Keydell (*Prolegomena* 2 (1953) 139 = *Kl. Schr.* (1982) 623), deserves serious consideration. Keydell refers to Strabo 13.1.22, where we are told that boats sailing from Sestos to Abydos would coast downstream until they reached 'Hero's tower' before crossing with the aid of the strong current to Abydos, which was not opposite to Sestos but further south. So Leander, according to Keydell, takes his bearings from the tower and sails back to Abydos. But even this explanation is too contrived. We have three things definitely mentioned – dark night, going astray, and tower. These must surely suggest Leander's coming ordeal, not his relatively trouble-free return sailing. It may be that the inconsistency of having ὀρφναίην ἀνὰ νύκτα refer to the present sailing, and having the lovers then immediately pray for night, is not an insuperable difficulty but a further example of Musaeus' notoriously loose and unspecific use of language. But to expect from the reader detailed knowledge of currents in the Hellespont and of the use of Hero's tower for everyday navigational purposes, is surely to expect too much. And to suggest that the lost Hellenistic source for Musaeus' poem dealt with this matter more fully is a counsel of despair. (3) On the same assumption as (2), it has been suggested that the tower had been specially equipped with fire for the safety of festival-goers returning to Abydos. But the text offers not a shred of evidence for this assumption.

(iv) Various conjectures have been made for πύργωι (πυρσοῦ Lobeck, λύχνου Schrader, χέρσου Ottmann); but permutation of these

with the possibilities so far outlined does not produce a substantial improvement in the sense.

(v) All the suggestions and emendations recorded above seem more or less implausible; but in this miasma of uncertainty a few facts may be thought reasonably secure: that νύκτα in 227 refers to the time of Leander's future swim; that παραπλάζοιτο refers to the possibility of his going astray while swimming; and that βαλὼν σημήια πύργωι is unlikely to refer to his sailing. The possibility of deep corruption is not to be ruled out.

227 [964] ἡ μὲν ἑὸν ποτὶ πύργον: Schwabe conjectured ἔβη for ἑόν; but in fact the verb of motion is to be understood from ἐνοσφίσθησαν. There is a similar ellipse at *Il.* 1.531–3 ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα | εἰς ἅλα ἆλτο . . . | Ζεὺς δὲ ἑὸν πρὸς δῶμα.

229 [966] Cf. 284.

βαθυκρήπιδος 'with deep foundations'. The implication seems to be that Abydos is securely located on the coast and not subject to damage by the sea.

εὐρέα δῆμον: cf. *Il.* 16.455 Λυκίης εὐρείης δῆμον ἵκοντο. In Homer δῆμος often means 'land' or 'settlement'.

230 [967] παννυχίων: cf. 225 and the note ad loc.

κρυφίους: cf. 221, 237.

ἀέθλους: amorous struggles.

231 [968] Cf. 288; both lines allude to *Il.* 9.240 (Hector) ἀρᾶται δὲ τάχιστα φανήμεναι Ἠῶ δῖαν, though the phrase θαλαμηπόλον ὄρφνην is Nonnian (*Dion.* 7.307).

232–55 [969–92] Night. Hero kindles her lamp, and at sight of it Leander's passion, too, is kindled. His love overcomes his fear of the waves: after a brief soliloquy, he strips off his clothes and begins his lonely course towards the light.

232 [969] κυανόπεπλος: 113 n., 238.

233 [970] καὶ οὐ: 152 n.

234 [971] πολυφλοίσβοιο . . . θαλάσσης: a common Homeric phrase.

235 [972] φαεινομένων: the emendation φαεινομένην may be right

('the visible herald of their union'), but the transference of the epithet to the ὑμέναιοι themselves does not seem too bold for Musaeus.

236 [973] μαρτυρίην λύχνοιο: cf. 1, 223.

πολυκλαύστοιο, if correct, must refer to the lamp's being 'much lamented' on a later day, when Leander will drown; but it seems hardly likely that such an indirect reference should have been made here in a passage describing Leander's happy expectancy. None of the proposed emendations can be called certain; φαεινομένων in 235 and τηλεσκόπον in 237 perhaps suggest that some reference to the lamp's visibility is to be expected.

237 [974] τηλεσκόπον 'visible from afar' – paradoxical with κρυφίης, 'secret'.

238 [975] ἴδε: the subject changes to Hero (239).

240 [977] ἐπειγομένοιο 'eager'.

241 [978] λύχνωι: within a short space this word occurs four times, each time with a different case-ending ('polyptoton'): 236 λύχνοιο, 239 λύχνον, λύχνου. The word-play is reinforced by καιομένωι συνεκαίετο and by the parallelism of ἀναπτομένοιο δὲ λύχνου (239) and ἐπειγομένοιο Λεάνδρου (240).

243–4 [980–1] These lines reproduce Leander's behaviour when he first saw Hero: ἔτρεμε μὲν κραδίην . . . | θαρσαλέως δ' . . . | ἠρέμα ποσσὶν ἔβαινε (97–100): in both situations his eventual boldness is prompted by Eros.

ἔπειτα . . . μύθοις are perhaps modelled on the common Homeric line ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν, which is used, significantly, of Odysseus as he reflects on the wisdom of abandoning his craft and trusting himself to the waves (*Od.* 5.355).

θάρσος ἀείρας may be Musaeus' equivalent of Homer's ὀχθήσας, since a minority of ancient scholars interpreted the word not as 'angered' but as μετεωρισθεὶς τὴν ψυχήν, 'clevated in spirit' (Hsch. o 2030 Latte).

προσέλεκτο, too, is a disputed word in Homer: in the evening Circe takes Odysseus by the hand, εἷσέ τε καὶ προσέλεκτο καὶ ἐξερέεινεν ἕκαστα (*Od.* 12.34). It was debated in antiquity whether προσέλεκτο

was derived from προσλέχομαι, 'lie beside', or προσλέγω, 'address'. Here Musaeus uses the latter interpretation (which is in fact incorrect).

τοίοισι is anomalous: Nonnian metrics do not allow a short vowel preceded by a long syllable to be metrically lengthened before two consonants in the following word (Keydell 38*). Hilberg's obvious emendation τοίοισιν is ruled out by the fact that in Nonnus paragogic ν does not make position (Keydell 40*). It seems possible that Musaeus allowed himself a Homeric licence in this context, which has several verbal echoes of Homer; but Gelzer may be right to print τοίοις ἦν ('*his* heart') on the model of ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν (see above), even though Musaeus and Nonnus nowhere else use ὅς for ἑός.

245–6 [982–3] ἀλλὰ . . . πῦρ 'but the water is the sea's (*or* the sea is only water), while Love's fire burns inside me', i.e. the sea, being external to Leander, is less to be feared than the inescapable fire within him. Such at least ought to be the meaning if the text is sound; the contrast is between θαλάσσης and ἐνδόμυχον, despite the syntactical parallelism of θαλάσσης and Ἔρωτος. To many critics this has seemed unsatisfactory. Du Rondel conjectured ἐκτός for ἐστίν in order to make more explicit the contrast between internal and external danger; Mader suggested ψυχρόν, producing instead a contrast between cold water and hot desire. Here, as often in the poem, it is very difficult to set a limit to what might have seemed to Musaeus acceptable Greek.

247 [984] ἅζεο, 'fear' or 'have respect for', seems preferable to the MS λάζεο, 'choose', since there is no question of choice: he must fear the fire and consequently not fear the water.

248 [985] δεῦρό μοι εἰς φιλότητα 'this way to love!': μοι is dative of interest. The ellipse of a verb with δεῦρο is common: see LSJ s.v. I.2.c.

249 [986] All but the first word of this line is borrowed from Nonnus, *Dion.* 35.191. The idea is one commonly mentioned in Greek romances.

ἀπόσπορος: Aphrodite was born from the foam (ἀφρός) produced by the genitals of Uranus, which Cronus had thrown into the sea.

250 [987] καὶ κρατέει πόντοιο: Aphrodite, goddess of love who rose from the sea, is Leander's ideal protectress. She was in fact invoked

by sailors, and had cult-titles such as Εὔπλοια, Κατασκοπία, Λιμενία, and Ποντία. Cf. 320.

ὀδυνάων: cf. 11.

251–2 [988–9] In Ovid's account, and probably in most others, Leander left his clothes behind on the beach (*Heroid.* 18.33–4, 57–8). Musaeus has him bind them around his head in imitation of the Homeric Odysseus, who in the course of his lying Cretan tale to Eumaeus tells how he escaped Thesprotian captors by slipping from their ship whilst they ate: *Od.* 14.349–52 κεφαλῆι δὲ κατὰ ῥάκος ἀμφικαλύψας | ... ἐπέλασσα θαλάσσηι | στῆθος, ἔπειτα δὲ χερσὶ διήρεσσ' [cf. Mus. 255] ἀμφοτέρηισι | νηχόμενος. Scholars who would prefer Hero to have welcomed a naked lover without a turban have criticised Musaeus for adopting this detail, which is one of several passages that tacitly compare Leander with Odysseus (see p. 138).

253 [990] ἠιόνος δ' ἐξῶρτο 'he rushed out from the beach'.

255 [992] The meaning is not clear, but critical discussion has focused chiefly on the relationship between this line and the words of Ovid's Leander *idem nauigium nauita uector ero* (*Heroid.* 18.148): is Musaeus dependent on Ovid, or are both echoing some lost Hellenistic source? (See p. 137.) (Ovid's line, too, is elusive in sense, since *nauigium* can mean both 'ship' and 'voyage', *uector* both 'boatman' and 'passenger': the correspondence with Musaeus is by no means exact, either verbally or contextually.)

αὐτὸς ἐὼν ἐρέτης 'himself the oarsman', i.e. his arms are his oars. The compound adjective αὐτερέτης is used of someone who rows his own boat.

αὐτὸς στόλος: it is uncertain what meaning of στόλος is intended. The sense may be that Leander is his own *equipment* (oars, etc.); or that he in himself constitutes a *fleet*; or that he is himself the *passenger* (thus Keydell, *Gnomon* 45 (1973) 742 n. 1 = *Kl. Schr.* (1982) 630). The first two alternatives would make the line as a whole refer to crew, equipment, and ship; the third, giving crew, passenger, and ship, might be thought more suitably paradoxical. The MS αὐτόστολος, 'self-sent', is perhaps inferior in sense, and it seems better to continue the structure of αὐτὸς ... ἐρέτης, understanding ἐών.

αὐτόματος νηῦς 'of himself a ship'; or, if the conjecture αὐτομάτη be adopted, 'a self-propelled ship'. αὐτόματος, continuing the series αὐτὸς ... αὐτός and giving a sense co-ordinate with that of the preceding phrases, seems slightly preferable in sense, if rather strained in expression.

256–88 [993–1025] Hero guarded the lamp until Leander arrived; then she dried him, led him still panting to bed, and made a seductive speech. Their lovemaking took place in secrecy and lacked the usual accompaniments of a wedding night. Before dawn Leander swam back to Abydos. For some time they continued their nocturnal assignations without the knowledge of Hero's parents. Both lived only for the night.

256 [993] Cf. 210.

260 [997] ἐκ ... θυράων 'in the doorway', not 'outside the door'. For this use of ἐκ 'with Verbs of Rest, where previous motion is implied', see LSJ s.v. I.6.

261 [998] σιωπῆι: cf. 280 Σιγὴ παστὸν ἔπηξεν.

262 [999] ἀφροκόμους ῥαθάμιγγας 'foam-plumed drops', a Nonnian phrase (*Dion.* 2.618, 9.48). -κόμους implies that each drop was crowned with foam; but here it may be used to suggest that Leander's hair is still wet with foam: cf. Ovid, *Heroid.* 18.104 (Leander to Hero) *et madidam siccas aequoris imbre comam.*

263 [1000] νυμφοκόμοιο ... παρθενεῶνος 'her bridal maiden's chamber', a curious oxymoron which emphasises the unusual circumstances of this 'marriage': the same room must serve by day as maiden's chamber and by night as wedding suite.

-κόμοιο is from κομέω, 'tend', 'care for' (contrast 262 ἀφροκόμους from κόμη).

μυχούς: the physical enactment of Leander's ἐνδόμυχον πῦρ (246).

264–5 [1001–2] A miniature Homeric-type washing and anointing scene: cf. *Od.* 3.464–8, etc.

εὐόδμωι ῥοδέωι: the adjectives in asyndeton and followed by a pause are another Homeric feature: cf. *Il.* 14.171–2 ἀλείψατο δὲ λίπ' ἐλαίωι | ἀμβροσίωι ἑδανῶι.

ἁλίπνοον, 'smelling of the sea', occurs only here in extant Greek. It probably echoes *Od.* 4.406 (the seals of Proteus) πικρὸν ἀποπνείουσαι ἁλὸς πολυβενθέος ὀδμήν.

266 [1003] βαθυστρώτοις 'with deep coverlets', i.e. luxurious and inviting.

267 [1004] ἀμφιχυθεῖσα 'embracing', another Homericism: cf. *Od.* 16.214 (Telemachus) ἀμφιχυθεὶς πατέρ' ἐσθλόν.

ἴαχε μύθους: a variation on the common Nonnian ἴαχε φωνήν, used often to introduce direct speech (*Dion.* 7.71, etc.).

268 [1005] Cf. *Il.* 23.607 ἀλλὰ σὺ γὰρ δὴ πόλλ' ἔπαθες καὶ πολλὰ μόγησας. But more relevant to the present context is the fact that Odysseus uses similar words of himself after his arrival at Scherie (*Od.* 5.223, 449).

μή: Nonnus is influenced by contemporary Greek in occasionally interchanging μή and οὐ (cf. *80, 695* nn.). Here, however, μή is probably the result of πολλά being perceived as an indefinite antecedent, 'many things ⟨of a type⟩ which ...'

269 [1006] ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ: a Homeric line-ending (*Od.* 4.511, etc.).

271 [1008] 'Embrace me closely after your labours', lit. 'put your sweated exertions in my lap' – an erotically charged image.

272 [1009] ὣς ἡ μὲν τάδ' ἔειπεν, conjectured by Wernicke, is nearest to the reading of the MSS but is suspect (i) because τάδ' is redundant after ὥς, and (ii) because neither Musaeus nor Nonnus elsewhere elides a declinable word. Schwabe's προσέειπεν may therefore be right; it is found occasionally without a direct object expressed (*Il.* 24.361, etc.).

λύσατο μίτρην: loosing the girdle conventionally represents a first act of sexual intercourse.

273 [1010] 'They embarked on the ordinances of most wise Aphrodite', the goddess who ordains marriage.

θεσμῶν: cf. 142–7, where the same word is used of marriage in language which alludes to initiation and mysteries. Hence perhaps the word

ἀριστονόου, implying not so much that Aphrodite knew what was best for these two lovers, but rather that in general she is most wise in the mysteries of love.

274–81 [1011–18] The silence and dark secrecy that surround the night of their 'wedding' contrast forcefully with the bright joyousness of traditional marriage rites. Anaphoric negatives (275–8) are characteristic of the Nonnian style, although definition by means of negatives occurs widely in poetry.

275 [1012] ζυγίην: cult-title of Hera, who presides over the yoke of marriage.

277 [1014] ἐπεσκίρτησε χορείῃ 'sprang into the dance'.

278 [1015] A sinister choice of words, since this is a theme common in epitaphs for girls who died young.

πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ: a Homeric formula (*Il.* 11.452, etc.).

279–80 [1016–17] For the marriage of such a distinguished couple θαλαμοποιοί would normally have been employed to prepare the bed and bridal chamber, and νυμφεύτριαι, 'bridesmaids', to dress the bride. Σιγή and Ὀμίχλη are here inversions of the common Hellenistic conceit that at particularly propitious weddings these tasks are carried out by divinities (e.g. Moschus, *Europa* 164 = *HA 1208* καί οἱ λέχος ἔντυον Ὧραι).

280 [1017] παστὸν ἔπηξεν 'made firm the bridal bed'. Preparation of the bed was a formal part of the marriage ceremony.

282–8 [1019–25] With Νὺξ μὲν ἔην κείνοισι γαμοστόλος we move from the wedding night to an account of the lovers' regular secret assignations.

283 [1020] ἀριγνώτοις ἐνὶ λέκτροις 'in the well known bed' – well known because celebrated in later song, perhaps (cf. 236 n.), unless this is an 'ornamental epithet' of a type common in Homer but unusual in Musaeus (cf., however, 286 ἑλκεσίπεπλος, and perhaps 273 ἀριστονόου). Several conjectures, none very convincing, have been made (e.g. εὐστρώτων ἐπὶ λέκτρων Dilthey).

284 [1021] Cf. 215, 229.

285 [1022] ἐννυχίων . . . ὑμεναίων is to be taken with both ἀκόρητος and πνείων.

πνείων 'redolent of'; perhaps literally of their fragrant embraces, or

perhaps metaphorically, with the implication that Leander is still instinct with desire.

286 [1023] ἑλκεσίπεπλος and **ἑοὺς λήθουσα τοκῆας** are both Homeric echoes, the latter of *Il.* 14.296, where Zeus and Hera are said to have stolen away to make love ἑοὺς λήθοντε τοκῆας (cf. Ap. Rh. 3.779 = *HA* *939*, of Medea). The Homeric participle λήθοντε makes it likely that the MSS' λήθουσα is correct, and that a line containing the main verb has fallen out. One might otherwise be tempted to follow Graefe's alternative suggestion of writing λήθεσκεν, a form not found in Nonnus but used in Homer (*Il.* 24.13) and therefore not unlikely in this Homericising line.

288 [1025] More Homeric allusion: cf. 231 n.

κατελθέμεν, too, is a notably Homeric form (*Il.* 6.109, etc.); Nonnus avoids infinitives in -έμεν (cf. 53–4 n.).

289–308 [1026–45] These secret meetings were not destined to continue for long. When violent winter winds made the sea stormy, Hero still kindled the fateful lamp, and Leander could not but obey its summons.

289 [1026] φιλότητος . . . ἀνάγκην: 140 n.

ὑποκλέπτοντες: 85 n.

291 [1028] ἀλλ' ὀλίγον ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον: from Hes. *WD* 132–3 (the Silver Race of men) ἀλλ' . . . | παυρίδιον ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον.

292 [1029] ἀπόναντο 'got enjoyment from', aor. of ἀπονίναμαι.

293–9 [1030–6] As transmitted by the MSS, this long sentence has no main clause. A few conservative critics have felt able to accept this (cf. 53–4 n.). Others have assumed a line to be missing after 295 or 297, but that would entail the splitting of this lengthy and carefully constructed period into two parts. It seems best, therefore, to follow Dilthey in placing the main verb in a lacuna at the beginning of the sentence: if ἀλλ' ὅτε began the first line and δὴ τότε the second, the eye of a copyist might have telescoped the two together. The sense would then be 'But when ⟨(e.g.) the Pleiads set, then indeed⟩ arrived the frosty winter season' (thus Keydell, *Gnomon* 45 (1973) 347 = *Kl. Schr.* (1982) 633).

296–7 [1033–4] Cf. *Il.* 11.305–6 ὡς ὁπότε νέφεα Ζέφυρος στυφελίξηι | ἀργεσταο Νότοιο, βαθείηι λαίλαπι τύπτων. The allusion confirms the genitive absolute (sc. ἁλός) in 297, the sea corresponding to Homer's clouds. Despite the slight awkwardness of ἅλα being mentioned again in 299, this seems a more forceful reading than D'Orville's τυπτομένην (with νῆα).

298 [1035] νῆα μέλαιναν: a common Homeric expression not used by Nonnus.

διψάδι χέρσωι: i.e. 'above the high-water mark' (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.162 *in litore sicco*). Attempts to explain the MSS' διχθάδι χέρσωι as referring to the two continents on either side of the Hellespont, or to the division of the sand into two parts by the keel of the boat as it is dragged up the beach, seem too strained to be convincing. How the corruption arose is less clear, since διψάδι is the more obvious word.

299 [1036] ναύτης: i.e. sailors in general.

301 [1038] καρτερόθυμε: a Homeric word usually applied to 'stout-hearted' heroes (*Il.* 13.350, etc.); not used by Nonnus.

διακτορίη: the tower's 'summons', which cruelly and untrustworthily (304) urged (303 ὤτρυνεν) Leander to ignore the dangers of the sea. In line 6 the meaning of διακτορίην is slightly different: see the note ad loc.

304 [1041] ἄπιστος: used of the sea at 299 above, of Leander himself at 178, and again of the lamp at 329.

305 [1042] χείματος ἱσταμένοιο: cf. *Od.* 19.519 ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο, 'just at the beginning of spring'.

306 [1043] μηκέτ' ἀναπτομένη: μη- rather than οὐ- because the expression is equivalent to καὶ ἀνάπτεσθαι (sc. ὄφελλε from 304).

307 [1044] θελγομένη: sc. by πόθος and μοῖρα.

308 [1045] This line is a variation on a theme commonly found in epitaphs for young women (cf. 278 n.), namely that death took place so soon before or after marriage that the same torches served for both wedding and funeral: cf. e.g. *AP* 7.182 (*HE* 4680–7 (=Meleager 123); *HA* *1512–19*).

309–30 [1046–67] The storm. Amidst raging gales and mountainous seas Leander prays in vain before drowning. His life and Hero's lamp are extinguished together. Storm descriptions are common in epic, in the novel, and in epideictic oratory; but the present context leads us to think particularly of Odysseus' shipwreck in *Od.* 5 (314, 316–17, 319–22, 324–5, 330, 339 nn.).

309–13 [1046–50] With the punctuation adopted here we are told that night is the time when the winds most rage, and that it was at night that Leander set out. The sense is not entirely satisfactory, since winds do not and are not reputed to rage at night (quite the reverse: they rise at dawn). Some editors have therefore punctuated with a full stop after νὺξ ἦν and with a comma after θαλάσσης (311), giving the sense 'It was night. When the winds most rage, then Leander set out'; but this seems little better, and gives a doubly unnatural rhythm (normal usage leads us to expect νὺξ ἦν, εὖτε (like *nox erat, et*) and a pause before δὴ τότε δή). There are two main difficulties for the sense: (i) winter, not night, is the time when the winds rage; (ii) in 309–11 we expect not a generalisation in the present tense but a reference to a specific storm. The first problem can hardly be solved by emendation. More suspicion attaches to the tense of ἐμπίπτουσιν, since εὖτε is very rarely found with the present indicative. Cf., however, both for the tense with εὖτε and for the general context, Ap. Rh. 1.1201–4 ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀπροφάτως ἱστὸν νεός, εὖτε μάλιστα | χειμερίη ὀλοοῖο δύσις πέλει Ὠρίωνος, | ὑψόθεν ἐμπλήξασα θοὴ ἀνέμοιο κατάιξ | . . . ὑπὲκ προτόνων ἐρύσηται. It seems, then, that Musaeus intended to say 'it was a night when the wind was particularly raging: such was the storm when Leander set out'.

309 [1046] βαρὺ πνείοντες ἀῆται: cf. 216 n.

310 [1047] ἀκοντίζοντες: the winds hurl their blasts like javelins. The idea is borrowed from Nonnus (*Dion.* 13.389–90, 39.112).

311 [1048] ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης: a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 1.437, etc.).

313 [1050] θαλασσαίων ἐπὶ νώτων: an elaboration of the Homeric ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης (*Il.* 2.159, etc.).

314 [1051] A heavily alliterative line (κ/χ, δ, υ).

κύματι κῦμα κυλίνδετο: for the context cf. *Od.* 5.295–6 σὺν δ' Εὖρός τε Νότος τ' ἔπεσον Ζέφυρός τε δυσαής | καὶ Βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης, μέγα κῦμα κυλίνδων (cf. 316–17 below); for the middle voice of the verb cf. *Il.* 11.307 κῦμα κυλίνδεται.

315 [1052] ἀνέγρετο 'arose', aor. mid. of ἀνεγείρω; cf. 324.

316–17 [1053–4] The enumeration of battling winds is a cliché of set-piece storms; but cf. *Od.* 5.331–2 ἄλλοτε μέν τε Νότος Βορέηι προβάλεσκε φέρεσθαι, | ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτ' Εὖρος Ζεφύρωι εἴξασκε διώκειν, and see 314 n.

319–22 [1056–9] At *Od.* 5.444–50 Odysseus, exhausted by swimming, prays to the river god for pity. Leander's prayer is clearly an allusion to that passage; but (i) it is not reported in direct speech; (ii) it replaces Homer's single anonymous river-god by (at least) three named gods; (iii) no help is forthcoming.

319 [1056] αἰνοπαθὴς δὲ Λέανδρος: 86 n.

ἀκηλήτοις 'implacable', lit. 'not to be charmed' (κηλέω). In later verse the word is not so rarely used as the entry in LSJ might suggest.

320 [1057] πολλάκι μὲν λιτάνευε: cf. 231, 288; now his prayer is for life itself.

θαλασσαίην Ἀφροδίτην: 250 n.

321 [1058] Cf. *Od.* 3.54 (Athena in disguise) αὐτίκα δ' εὔχετο πολλὰ Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι; the last two words are a common Homeric line-ending.

322 [1059] The asyndeton between 321 and 322 seems too harsh even for Musaeus, though it has been accepted by many editors. Gelzer moved 320–1 after 322 (some MSS have 319–21 after 328), but more likely than such a transposition is the loss of a line between 321 and 322. Such a line would presumably contain words meaning 'as he prayed', and it may have begun with a verb of supplication governing Ποσειδάωνα (which as the text stands is governed by λιτάνευε in 320): e.g. πολλάκι δ' αὐτὸν ἄνακτα Ποσειδάωνα θαλάσσης | ⟨δύσμορος ἤιτεε μᾶλλον ἀθελγέα· λισσόμενος δέ⟩ | Ἀτθίδος οὐ Βορέην ἀμνήμονα κάλλιπε νύμφης (cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 1.134, 47.306).

Ἀτθίδος . . . νύμφης: he did not leave Boreas unmindful of the love he once had for Oreithyia. 'While Oreithyia was playing by the

Ilissus river [in Attica], Boreas carried her off and had intercourse with her; and she bore daughters, Cleopatra and Chione, and winged sons, Zetes and Calais' (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.15.2, trans. Frazer). Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.6.53 *si satis es raptae, Borea, memor Orithyiae*, with McKeown's note: several similar lines in Latin and Greek poetry suggest that a famous Hellenistic passage was their common source.

323 [1060] Cf. *Il.* 6.16 (Axylus, who had many guest-friends) ἀλλά οἱ οὔ τις τῶν γε τότ' ἤρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.

324–5 [1061–2] ὁρμῇι . . . ὁρμή: the repetition may be designed to contrast the power of the waves with the feebleness of Leander; in Nonnus, too, are found apparently defensible examples of successive lines ending with the same word. On the other hand, textual corruption is quite possible here, and Ludwich's ὁλκῶι makes excellent sense (cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 11.459). What gives further pause to the wish to emend is an apparent double allusion to Homer: ὁρμῇι in 324 seems to be another reference to the Odyssean storm (*Od.* 5.319–20 οὐδ' ἐδυνάσθη | αἶψα μάλ' ἀνσχεθέειν μεγάλου ὑπὸ κύματος ὁρμῆς), while ὁρμή in 325 seems to allude to *Od.* 5.416 μελέη δέ μοι ἔσσεται ὁρμή, elaborated by Musaeus in 326: see T. Gelzer, *Mus. Helv.* 25 (1968) 29.

328 [1065] ἀχρήιστον 'worthless' by contrast with nourishing fresh water ('And drinke went downe, that did him farre from good' – Chapman).

329 [1066] A chiastic and alliterative line.
ἄπιστον: 304 n.

330 [1067] πολυτλήτοιο Λεάνδρου: this section of the poem, which is heavily indebted to the storm scene in book 5 of the *Odyssey*, closes with an almost explicit identification of Leander with Odysseus, who is frequently called πολύτλας in Homer.

331–41 [1068–78] After a night of anxious foreboding, Hero at dawn saw her lover's body washed up at the foot of her tower. In grief she leapt from the top and was united with Leander in death.

331 [1068] The subject changes from Leander to Hero, but no proper name makes this clear. It seems most likely that one or more lines have fallen out: '⟨Hero meanwhile stood on top of her tower⟩ and railed at the wind . . .' (or possibly νείκεσεν, preceded by a participial clause, should be read). Gelzer supplied a reference to Hero by transposing 335–6 before 331; but (i) the storm, Hero's foreboding, and her sleeplessness (331–4) seem to belong to the description of night, whereas the suggested transposition would make them take place after dawn; (ii) the ellipse ὄμμα τίταινεν . . . εἴ που ἐσαθρήσειεν (336–7) is more normal than would be ἵστατο κυμαίνουσα . . . εἴ που ἐσαθρήσειεν. M. L. West's solution (*C.R.* n.s. 33 (1983) 187), 'to make 331 change places with 335–7', does not answer (i) above, though it does much improve the sense at 331/338: she blamed the wind *because it had extinguished the lamp* (cf. 329).

333 [1070] ἐπ' ἀγρύπνοισι δ' ὀπωπαῖς 'with sleepless eyes', ἐπί + dative of cause or attendant circumstance: see LSJ s.v. B.III.1.

334 [1071] κυμαίνουσα: her mind is assimilated to the seething sea.

336 [1073] ὄμμα τίταινεν: a very common expression in Nonnus.
ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης: a common Homeric half-line (*Il.* 2.159, etc.). Some MSS have ἐς, which seems more natural with ὄμμα τίταινεν. It is difficult to decide between these two prepositions: on the one hand, Musaeus may have strained the syntax in order to incorporate a Homeric echo; on the other, ἐς would be easily corrupted to ἐπ' by a scribe who remembered Homer.

337 [1074] εἴ που ἐσαθρήσειεν: from *Il.* 3.450, where Menelaus ranges the battlefield looking for Paris, whom Aphrodite has stolen away.
ἀλωόμενον: 178 n.

338 [1075] λύχνου σβεννυμένοιο echoes 15, as does ὀλλυμένωι in 342. The allusion partly explains the present tense where the aorist would be more natural: in 15 the present is normal, since the Muse is asked to tell the details of the lamp's being extinguished and of Leander's death.

339 [1076] δρυπτόμενον: another Odyssean echo: *Od.* 5.426 ἔνθα κ' ἀπὸ ῥινοὺς δρύφθη, 434–5 ἀπὸ χειρῶν | ῥινοὶ ἀπέδρυφθεν, both of Odysseus as he is washed ashore.

340 [1077] περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα: from *Il.* 10.21 ἔνδυνε περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα.

341 [1078] This echoes lines 65–6 of Lycophron's *Alexandra* (a learnedly riddling poem of the third century BC), where the death of Oenone is described as follows: πύργων ἀπ' ἄκρων πρὸς νεόδμητον νέκυν | ῥοιζηδὸν ἐκβράσασα κύμβαχον δέμας ('from the tower-top on to the newly slain corpse beaching with a rushing sound her diving body'): πύργων ἀπ' ἄκρων ~ ἀπ' ἠλιβάτου . . . πύργου (341), νέκυν ~ νεκρόν (339), ῥοιζηδόν ~ 341, κύμβαχον ~ προκάρηνος (341).

ἠλιβάτου . . . πύργου: cf. 210.

342 [1079] Cf. Virg. *Geo.* 3.263 (Hero) *moritura super crudeli funere uirgo*, with Thomas's note.

διερῶι 'wet', i.e. 'drowned' (cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 17.306, 24.207 διερὸν νέκυν of a drowned corpse). This is the emendation of Scheindler for the MSS' κὰδ δ' Ἡρώ; similarly at 275 most MSS have ἱερήν for Ἥρην. Most editors have resisted emendation. Here again one must judge between Homeric and Nonnian norms and probabilities. Against κὰδ δ' Ἡρὼ τέθνηκε can be urged (i) that no other line in Musaeus (and only two lines, both special cases, in the whole of Nonnus) begins with two spondees; (ii) that tmesis is strictly avoided by Nonnian poets, and is not elsewhere used by Musaeus (if 17 ἀνὰ . . . τιταίνων is corrupt: see the note ad loc.); (iii) that the name Ἡρώ is unnecessary here, the subject being the same as in the preceding lines. In defence of the MS reading it has been argued (i) that the line is Homericising and deliberately un-Nonnian; (ii) that the heavy rhythm represents the sad fate of Hero; (iii) that the proper name, though not strictly necessary, is perfectly acceptable. Certainly (iii) is a fair defence: if the line were not otherwise anomalous, Ἡρώ would not be questioned. But the coincidence of anomalies is too great, and the emendation is so convincingly simple as to be irresistible. Moreover, the Homeric passage that is alleged to be imitated here by Musaeus (*Il.* 24.725–6 κὰδ δέ με χήρην | λείπεις ἐν μεγάροισι – Andromache to the dead Hector) is not in fact similar except for the word κάδ. At *Dion.* 40.113–14 Nonnus 'quotes' that passage almost verbatim (κὰδ δέ με χήρην | κάλλιπες ἐν μεγάροισι) at the beginning of his equivalent of Andromache's lament, the dirge of Protonoe; but eight lines later she speaks of the διερὸν μόρον (121) of Deriades and Orontes, who died in rivers. That passage too, then, can equally well support διερῶι. (Ludwich preferred διερή, with the Homeric meaning 'alive'. That might give a nice point to the sentence ('she committed suicide on the corpse of her husband'); but (i) in Nonnus, with whom it is a favourite epithet, διερός does not have that meaning; (ii) διερὴ τέθνηκε is an extraordinary contradiction; (iii) with διερῶι the distribution of adjectives is quite acceptable: cf. 292, 313, etc.)

343 [1080] 'Together in death' is a common idea in romance, funerary epigrams, etc.

ἀλλήλων δ' ἀπόναντο: cf. 290, 292.

VII–XI

Oppian

Didactic poetry continued popular in the Imperial period. Already by the fourth century BC prose had supplanted poetry as the medium for factual information, and the Imperial poets followed their Hellenistic predecessors in versifying prose works on subjects of which they did not necessarily have expert knowledge (cf. *HA* pp. 136–8, 142–4). Readers did not in general look to these poets for instruction, but admired the elegant manner in which they embellished and made palatable their often highly technical subject-matter.

Oppian of Cilicia published, probably between 176 and 180, the 3,500-line *Halieutica*, the most accomplished and attractive didactic poem to survive from the Imperial period. It deals with the lives and habits of sea-creatures (books 1–2) and with the methods used for catching them (books 3–5). Its facts are chiefly borrowed from prose sources, and in particular from Aristotle (directly or indirectly) and a lost work by the fish-expert Leonidas of Byzantium. The subject was apparently a popular one for didactic poets, though some hundred lines of a *Halieutica* attributed to Ovid are all that otherwise survives.

Oppian employs many of the refinements introduced to the hexameter by Hellenistic poets of the Callimachean school (West, *GM* 177–9). Although his diction is not unusual, he generally avoids characteristically Homeric phrases and repeated formulas. The success of his poem results not so much from these factors, as from the imaginative way in which he treats the marine world. By adopting the anthropomorphic approach common to much contemporary zoological writing, Oppian assimilates human and animal, hunter and hunted;

and the lives of the fishes are illustrated by extended similes describing human actions. The sea-creatures are not however idealised: their being subject to love, jealousy, enmities, and other human passions, and the fact that they hunt each other with strength and cunning just as humans hunt them, helps to bring the two worlds closer together. Linked in this way by imagery and by the highlighting of similarities, the *Halieutica* resembles in the unity behind its apparent conflicts the writing of Stoic authors such as Seneca and Lucan.

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VII

On the Paper Nautilus. Having described its habits and method of sailing, the poet exclaims that the first shipwright must surely have taken it as his model.

The passage is a good example of Oppian's anthropomorphising style: not only is the Nautilus described in human terms (it has a house, 349 δόμον, and acts like a prudent sailor), but humans are assimilated to the animal world by virtue of their imitating the creature's sailing. Typical, too, is the excited authorial intervention (354–9), a technique often used by Oppian to encourage and enact his readers' wonderment.

Callimachus' famous epigram on a nautilus-shell (5 Pfeiffer; *HE* 1109–20; *HA 1646–57*) may have influenced Oppian's choice of vocabulary: C. 3 ἄηται ~ O. 350; 4 οἰκείων ~ 340; 4 λαῖφος ~ 346; 4 προτόνων ~ 359; 6 τὤργωι τοὔνομα συμφέρεται ~ 340, ναυτίλον, οἰκείῃσιν ἐπικλέα ναυτιλίῃσι.

338 [1081] ἰχθύς has a wider range of meaning than Eng. 'fish'. The Paper Nautilus is in fact a cephalopod like the Octopus.

340 [1083] οἰκείῃσιν ἐπικλέα ναυτιλίῃσι 'so named (or perhaps 'famous') on account of its home-made sailing', explained in the following lines.

ἐπικλέα echoes καλέουσι (339) as ναυτιλίῃσι does ναυτίλον. The normal rule for third-declension adjectives ending in vowel + -ης is that -α in the accusative is long; but in such forms epic dialect often has short vowels by analogy with forms in consonant + -ης.

342 [1085] 'Face downwards, so that the sea may not fill it' – presumably in the way that a vessel plunged neck-first into water is not filled. (In fact the Paper Nautilus sinks or rises by siphoning water into or out of the chambers of its shell.)

343 [1086] Ἀμφιτρίτης: wife of Poseidon (Hes. *Theog.* 930); a high poeticism for the sea (cf. Cat. 64.11).

345–9 [1088–92] Two of the Paper Nautilus' tentacles are larger than the other six. These were mistakenly believed to be used as rigging (345 κάλωας, 359 προτόνων) to support a membranous 'sail' while other tentacles served as oars (Arist. *De nat. anim.* 622b5–18). (In fact the Nautilus is propelled by a jet of water squirted from its funnel.)

346 [1089] ἀντανύει = ἀνατανύει. In epic some prepositions can lose their final vowel ('apocope'), e.g. πάρ, κάτ. The verbs τανύω and τιταίνω (347) are epic equivalents of τείνω.

διαρρέει, lit. 'flows through', is oddly used, but must refer to the membrane being 'stretched between' the two tentacles.

347 [1090] λεπτὸς ὑμήν: the phrase is borrowed from Ap. Rh. 4.1648 (*HA 1004*), where it describes a vital membrane in the ankle of the bronze man Talos.

349 [1092] πόμπιμοι 'guide-feet': understand πόδες from 345.

δόμον καὶ νῆα καὶ ἰχθύν '⟨what is at once⟩ a house, a ship, and a sea-creature'.

350 [1093] οὐκέτ': 250 n.

351 [1094] σὺν . . . ἔσπασε 'hauls in': tmesis. The aorist is gnomic; cf. 352 ἔδεκτο, etc.

χαλινά 'tackle', a rare meaning: LSJ s.v. III. Cf. 359 χαλινωτήρια.

352 [1095] ἀθρόον 'all at once', qualifying κῦμα (353).

353 [1096] ὕδατος ὁρμῇ: cf. *Od.* 5.320 κύματος ὁρμῇ.

354 [1097] πρώτιστος . . . εὕρατο: the aetiological theme of 'first inventor' (πρῶτος εὑρετής) is used by a wide variety of ancient poets.

The daring skill of the first sailor is often characterised as an impious, unnatural, and avaricious encroachment on the sea, and as symbolising the end of the Golden Age (see Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 1.3, pp. 43–4), and the *Argo* was said to have been the first sea-going ship. (The modern scientific name of the Paper Nautilus, *Argonauta argo*, reflects the notion that it pioneered seamanship.)

εὔρατο: 803 n.

355 [1098] The *Argo* was built for Jason by Argos with help from Athene; but the pl. νῆας (354) may suggest that no particular vessel is meant.

356 [1099] πρώτιστος ἐπεύξατο 'was the first to boast that . . .'

358–9 [1101–2] πετάσσας is not a suitable verb to govern χαλινωτήρια; hence de Pauw's conjecture νωμῶν, 'plying', for νηῶν. But this type of construction, in which a word applicable to only one subject of a sentence is allowed syntactically to govern the remaining subjects, is not uncommon: see Dawe's note on Soph. *OT* 117.

359 [1102] χαλινωτήρια: not 'mooring-cables' (LSJ), but the rudders and steering-oars described at 347–9.

VIII

After a long description of the various fishes (93–445) book 1 closes with a discussion of the mating habits of sea-creatures. In the present passage, the joy felt by the fishes at the end of winter is compared to that of a city released from ruinous war (463–9). But even at spawning-time all is not well, since some fishes, no less than humans, experience jealousy and the madness of love (499–508), and for the females egg-laying is as painful as the birth-pangs of women (480–7).

In Oppian the world of the fishes is not idealised, but resembles our own in violence (488–9) and suffering. Descriptions of the power of love as seen in nature are a common theme in poetry: cf. Lucr. 1.1–20, Virg. *Geo.* 3.242–83.

446–57 [1103–14] The description of winter bears some general resemblance to Hes. *WD* 504–35, where people and animals (including the Octopus: 524–5) are described as avoiding the cold each in their own fashion. Some fishes do in fact hibernate and not feed in the cold of winter; one such is the Grey Mullet (*1206–42*).

446 [1103] πάντες: sc. ἰχθύες.

447 [1104] αὐτοῦ . . . πόντου 'the very sea itself': they fear it even though it is their natural element. Cf. 449 φίλην n.

448 [1105] περιώσιον ἄλλων 'above all else'.

449 [1106] φίλην: because it is their 'own' element.

πέφρικε: perfect with present sense (cf. 462 γεγηθότες).

453 [1110] μυχάτην suggests the farthest recesses of the sea-bed (μυχός = 'innermost part').

βύσσαν: a rare by-form of βυσσός (prose βυθός), 'depths'; similarly βένθος (456) = βάθος.

459 [1116] πορφύρεον: adverbial. The word may refer to a general brightness of colour rather than to specifically crimson spring flowers: cf. Virgil's *uer purpureum* (*Ecl.* 9.40).

460 [1117] γαληναίη is probably an adjective with θάλασσα rather than a noun.

463–9 [1120–6] At winter's end the fish feel joy like that of citizens at last freed from the sufferings of war and siege. The simile is brought closer to the activity which it illustrates through metaphorical use of πολυρραίσταο (463), ἐπεπλήμμυρε θύελλα (465), and εὔδιος (468; cf. 460); further echoes include ἀναπνεύσασα (466 ~ 459), ἀσπασίως (467 ~ 471) and χοροιτυπίης (469) ~ χοροιτυπέουσιν ὁμοῖοι (472).

463 [1120] πολυρραίσταο 'killing many': ῥαίω ('shatter') is particularly used of shipwreck.

νέφος πολέμοιο: a Homeric phrase (*Il.*17.243 π. ν.).

464 [1121] ὀλβίη goes with πόλις, and φίλη with ἀθανάτοισι.

465 [1122] ἐπεπλήμμυρε 'has flooded over' (not 'overflowed', LSJ), wreaking havoc.

467–8 [1124–5] εἰρήνης καμάτοισι | . . . ἁρπαλέοισι 'the attractive [lit. 'to be seized'] labours of peace'.

469 [1126] The order is πλήθουσα χοροιτυπίης ἀνδρῶν τε γυναικῶν τε.

471–2 [1128–9] ὑπεὶρ ἅλα goes with θρωίσκοντες; καγχαλόωντες = 'exultantly'.

474 [1131] ἡβώωσι: a lengthened epic form of ἡβῶσι (ἡβά-ουσι).

475 [1132] γαῖαν: sc. ἀνά from the next phrase.

476 [1133] δονέονται 'live and move'; but this verb is particularly suitable for the context, since it is often used of the agitation produced by ἔρως.

478 [1135] The spondaic fifth foot and alliteration of ω emphasise 'the heavy travail of egg-laying'. In the following lines Oppian assimilates spawning to human birth-pangs by claiming that, though individually small, the eggs form a painful mass in the womb. The comparison is made explicit at 486–7.

480–1 [1137–8] ἀραιάς 'slender'. It is surprising to find this adjective applied to the body of a heavily pregnant fish; but Oppian is concerned to stress the pain felt by the fishes in passing a huge mass through a narrow space.

διίσταται: the subject is ᾠά (482). Metrical convenience accounts for the singular verb here but the plural at line-end.

484 [1141] στεινόμεναι 'distressed', 'in ⟨dire⟩ straits'.

κρίνουσι 'separate' the eggs so as to pass them individually.

488 [1145] ἰχθύσι 'the ⟨other⟩ fishes'.

490 [1147] μετόπισθε διωκόμενοι 'pursued from behind' by the females.

493 [1150] οἱ μέν refers to the males, ἀλλήλοισι to the males and females who rub their (σφετέρας) bellies against each other.

494 [1151] θορόν 'milt', usually 'semen' (cognate with θρώισκω, aor. ἔθορον).

495–6 [1152–3] Oppian has borrowed from Aristotle (*Hist. anim.* 541a12–13) the theory that female fishes are impregnated by swallowing the milt. What may lie behind the statement is the fact that *males* of some species (e.g. some Catfish) incubate fertilised eggs in their mouths.

500 [1157] ὅσσα 'feelings of the kind that . . .'

504 [1161] ὁμοίιοι probably means 'well matched', 'similar ⟨to each other⟩'.

505 [1162] τά: wealth and splendour.

506 [1163] κάρχαρον 'saw-like'; καρχαρόδους is a Homeric epithet for dogs, and it is often used as a technical term by Aristotle.

ἕρκος: ἕρκος ὀδόντων, 'the fence of one's teeth', is a common Homeric phrase, well enough known for Oppian to be able to omit ὀδόντων.

508 [1165] 'Whoever (epic ὅ for ὅς) comes out on top in these things [cf. 506] gets himself a wife by his victory.'

IX

The Octopus attacks and destroys the unsuspecting Crayfish as a highway robber ambushes a drunken pedestrian.

Here again Oppian uses a vivid and elaborate Homeric-type simile to bring together human and animal worlds (408–18). The world of the fishes is full of violent assaults and sudden deaths.

389 [1166] αὖ 'in its turn'. The predations of the Crayfish have just been described.

392 [1169] αὐτὰρ ὁ: one would expect these words to be resumptive, i.e. to follow a clause with a subject different from that resumed by ὁ (cf. 401, 413); but occasionally the definite article is used in this way even when the subject is the same as in the preceding clause.

395–6 [1172–3] θερμὸν . . . | αὐλόν 'warm windpipe'.

396 [1173] ἀνίῃσι 'allow to pass'.

398 [1175] Ancient natural historians were divided as to whether fishes and other water-dwelling animals breathe air in addition to having gills (Arist. *De sens.* 444b7 ~ Pliny, *HN* 9.16–19). Oppian here assimilates the victim to the warm-blooded creation; cf. 395–6 n.

400–1 [1177–9] προβλῆσιν ὑπ' ἄκραις | ῥήγνυται 'dashes itself up against the edges of projecting rocks'.

405 [1182] αὐερύει: the usual meaning of this verb is 'pull back', but here and occasionally elsewhere in Oppian it seems to mean 'suck': cf. 407 μυζήσας.

406 [1183] ὀξυπόροιο . . . ἄγγεος 'the narrow-mouthed vessel' of the shell. The contents are sucked out via the victim's pointed mouth-parts.

408 [1185] ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ 'day-sleeping man', a kenning (riddling expression) for a thief; it is borrowed from Hes. *WD* 605.

411 [1188] ἐλόχησε: the aorist is often used in similes to represent a single action with no reference to past time; cf. 414, 415, 417. This is akin to its gnomic use in generalisations.

412 [1189] ὑγρόν 'tipsily' (LSJ s.v. II.4).

413 [1190] κλάζων: he is bawling drunkenly: a humorous touch.
αὐτὰρ ὁ λάθρῃ echoes 392.

415 [1192] κλῖνέν τέ μιν ἄγριον ὕπνον 'lays him low in a cruel sleep' (Mair), a bold use of the acc. of respect.

416 [1193] εἵματα πάντ' ἐναρίξας: thieves and robbers were as likely to steal valuable clothing as money: one word for a highwayman was λωποδύτης, 'cloak-stripper'.

417 [1194] ἀνέστιον 'hearthless', i.e. vagabondish.

X

How to catch the timid and suspicious Grey Mullet.

This is another passage illustrating some of the ways in which Oppian diversifies his material: the aetiological tale of the nymph Minthe (486–97) and two extended similes (501–6, 512–18) are used to set the action in a wider context.

482 [1196] Ναὶ μήν: literally 'yes, indeed'; but didactic poets often use these words as a mark of transition to a new topic.

καὶ οὐ λίχνον περ ἐόντα: unlike the fish described in the lines preceding this passage. The Grey Mullet was noted for its abstemious nature (cf. *1103–14* n.) and for its avoiding all but vegetable food; hence the proverb κεστρεὺς νηστεύει (Athen. 307c–308b). Modern research has confirmed the truth of these observations.

483 [1197] ἤπαφον: aor. (gnomic) of ἀπαφίσκω, 'deceive'. The subjects are the fishermen of the preceding lines.

484 [1198] Δήμητρι: a high poeticism for 'flour', made from Demeter's corn. Cf. *1130*.

484–5 [1198–9] γάλακτος | πηκτοῖσιν δώροισιν: a high epic periphrasis for cream-cheese (πήγνυμι is used of 'setting' cheese).

485 [1199] ποίην 'herb' (Attic πόαν).

486–98 [1200–12] This is the most detailed extant account of Minthe, braggart mistress of Hades, who was killed by Demeter and metamorphosed into mint. She may have her origins in the mystery-cult of Demeter, alongside such figures as Baubo and the daughters of Celeus. Amongst authors who allude briefly to the story is Ovid (*Met.* 10.728–30). For another aetiological tale used to embellish didactic see *1309–95*.

487 [1201] Κωκυτίδα: she was a water-nymph of Cocytus ('Wailing'), one of the rivers of the Underworld.

488 [1202] Ἀιδωνέος 'the Unseen One', a title of Hades.

489 [1203] μουνογόνην: a cult epithet of Persephone as patroness of single births in the human and animal worlds (Orph. fr. 109, *h.* 29.2). This seems more likely to be the correct reading than Περσεφόνην of some MSS, which will have originated as an annotator's explanation of the epithet.

ἀπ' Αἰτναίοιο πάγοιο: according to the most common account (e.g. in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*), Persephone was playing on the slopes of Mt Etna in Sicily when she was abducted by Hades.

490 [1204] μιν: Minthe.

492 [1206] ἐπεμβαίνουσα πεδίλοις: her being trampled to death anticipates the pounding she will undergo as a herb. Perhaps Oppian is also drawing attention to an etymological link with the verb μινύθω, 'reduce'.

493–4 [1207–8] ἀγαυοτέρη . . . | Περσεφόνης alludes to the Homeric ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνεια (*Od.* 11.213, etc.).

496 [1210] πέλεν: most MSS read θόρεν, which may be the result of a scribe's eye having slipped to ἔκθορε in the next line. (It seems less likely that there is a deliberate repetition to point the parallel between speech and growth.)

497 [1211] οὐτιδανή 'common or garden' (from οὔτι, 'nothing'), contrasting with her claim to be a special 'somebody'.

498 [1212] ἐνιφυρήσαντες: from ἐμφυράω, 'mix with'.

503 [1217] ἐφορμαίνων 'pondering' (LSJ Suppl. s.v.).

504 [1218] ἐπιβάλλεται 'desires', lit. 'throws itself upon': LSJ s.v. III.1.

505–6 [1219–20] νόος δέ οἱ ἠύτε κῦμα | εἱλεῖται: a marine simile within the simile.

510 [1224] ἤδη goes with ψαύοντα (511): 'just as he is about to touch it'.

513 [1227] τευ: epic form of του = τινος.

514 [1228] ψαῦσαι μὲν τρομέει μητρὸς χόλον: the meaning is clear, the syntax less so: τρομέει seems to govern both infinitive and noun-phrase.

515 [1229] τέτληκεν 'can bring herself to . . .'

518 [1232] ποτὶ προθύροισι τέτανται: her anxious gaze is 'strained towards the door'.

519 [1233] ἀνελίσσεται: synonymous with ἀνεχάσσατο (510), ἀναδῦναι (514).

522 [1236] θέρμετ(αι): pres. indic. after μή of fear that something *is* the case (Goodwin, *GMT* §369).

523 [1237] ἀπώμοτον: Grey Mullets are 'under oath not' to eat flesh: another anthropomorphising term. At 2.642–55 Oppian claims that they are the most just and honourable of all fishes, and are regarded with such reverence that no predator will attack them or their brood.

525 [1239] περιξύων 'nibbling'.

526–7 [1240–1] An original simile, comparing the rider reining back (and upwards) a spirited horse to the action of an angler striking a fish.

526 [1240] ἀνακρούων 'striking upwards', i.e. jerking the hook into the mouth.

528 [1242] ἂν δ' ἔρυσε: tmesis.

κάββαλεν: epic form of κατέβαλεν (κάτ-βαλεν, the form with apocope (*321*, *1089* n.), assimilated to the following β).

XI

Oppian's fifth book consists of three long sections punctuated by briefer passages. The first section (109–349) describes the terrifying dangers of whale-hunting; the second (416–588) discusses the Dolphin and legends connected with it, and tells of a recently recorded friendship between a boy and a dolphin. The present passage, which forms (apart from a brief epilogue) the climax of the poem, describes the dreadful trade of the sponge-diver. At its close the sea at last gains revenge on the human ingenuity which dares to plunder its riches and to violate its depths.

615 [1246] ἀφαυροτέροισι 'less nutritious'. The idea seems to be that rich food will make it more difficult for them to hold their breath: cf. 622–3.

616 [1247] οὐχ ἁλιεῦσιν ἐοικότι: Oppian elsewhere says that a successful fisherman must above all be wakeful and watchful (3.45). For the divers, by contrast, sleep is part of the job, since without it they cannot get through their ordeal.

618 [1249] ἔχων Φοιβήιον εὖχος: i.e. he can boast skill in his art.

620 [1251] πιαίνων 'nurturing', 'looking after'. There is perhaps an ironical contrast with ἀφαυροτέροισι (615).

623 [1254] ἀναψύξωσι 'so that they may recover'. The -ψυχ- root suggests the idea of their recovering breath.

626 [1255] ἀρῶνται: sc. ἁλὸς μεδέοντας.

627 [1258] λώβην ('harm', 'maiming') looks forward to the horrible

denouement (665–74), as ἀντιάσαι is echoed by 667 ἀντιάσας and κήτειον πῆμα (626) by 670 κητείη . . . βίη.

628 [1259] κάλλιχθυν: a beautiful fish which boded well; also called ἱερὸς ἰχθύς (632). Unidentified.

629 [1260] κείνῃσι νομαῖς 'in those pastures', sc. where the κάλλιχθυς is found.

632 [1263] τῶι καί μιν ἐφήμισαν: borrowed from Call. fr. 75.58 (*HA 112*).

τῶι 'for that reason'.

636 [1267] χύσιν 'lump', 'mass'.

638 [1269] ὑπὸ στόμα: the meaning is unclear: the words seem to do little more than repeat the idea of ἐν γενύεσσιν.

640 [1271] βριθὺν . . . πόνον 'heavy task', with a glance at the lead weight (cf. 645 βεβριθότος).

647–8 [1278–9] Even if allowance is made for extraordinary impurities in ancient olive oil, for an admixture of saliva, and for the effects of water pressure in the deep sea, it is highly unlikely that oil did in fact cast light in this way. Plutarch, too, refers to its use by sponge-divers (*Mor.* 950b).

648 [1279] ὄμμα 'its light': LSJ s.v. III.

651 [1282] πνοιήν: i.e. they are living creatures. True.

φάτις: sc. ἐστί.

οἷα 'as' (LSJ s.v. οἷος V.2).

653 [1284] ἐπαΐξας δρεπάνῃι go together.

χειρὶ παχείῃι: Oppian rarely uses Homeric clichés of this sort.

656–7 [1287–8] αἷμα . . . ῥαθαμίζεται: not true; but the detail increases the atmosphere of danger.

660 [1291] ὥστε νόημα: borrowed from *Hom. Hymn to Apollo* 86, where Apollo shoots up to Olympus from the earth 'swift as thought'.

663 [1294] παριεμένου 'weakened', 'enfeebled': cf. LSJ s.v. παρίημι III.1.

664 [1295] γυῖα λέλυνται: another Homeric clausula.

665 [1296] ἐχθίστης . . . καὶ ἀπηνέος ἄγρης: it is not entirely clear whether ἄγρης refers to the 'catch' (horrid in that it can choke the diver) or to his hunting mission (frightful because he is to be killed in the course of it).

667 [1298] θηρὶ πελώρωι: not specified. Pliny describes how dogfish and rays can kill divers (*NH* 9.151–2).

668 [1299] ἐπισείων: Oppian follows Homer in making the second syllable of this word heavy, though the ι is by nature short. Perhaps it should be spelled ἐπισσείων.

670 [1301] ὁμόστολοι . . . ἄνδρες 'his companions', who pull so hard against the force of the monster that the diver's body is torn in two. There is an epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum (3rd cent. BC) on the theme of a sailor bitten in two by a sea-monster, so that only half of him can receive burial (*AP* 7.506 = *HE* 2359–70 = Leon. 65).

672 [1303] λυγρὸν ἄεθλον echoes κακώτερον . . . ἄεθλον at the beginning of the passage (612).

673 [1304] κατάγονται 'land': LSJ s.v. κατάγω I.4.

XII

[Oppian]

The *Cynegetica*, through being included in the same MSS as the *Halieutica* (see pp. 185–6), came to be attributed to Oppian, but is clearly not by him. The poet tells us that he is a Syrian from Apamea (2.125–7). He dedicates his work to the emperor Caracalla, and it was probably published between 212 and 217. Hunting was, no less than fishing, a popular subject for didactic writers: Greek prose *Cynegetica* survive by Xenophon and Arrian (second century), together with Latin poems by Grattius (first century BC?) and Nemesianus (third century). The poem contains many echoes and imitations of the *Halieutica*; and the abrupt ending of its fourth book suggests that there may originally have been a fifth, now lost, as a further parallel with Oppian's work.

Beginning with a dialogue in which Artemis exhorts the poet to sing of hunting, the *Cynegetica* describes discursively the animals and techniques of the chase. The passage included here, though longer than

other aetiologies, is characteristic of the poet's efforts to diversify and embellish his subject-matter. It tells how leopards can be captured by mixing wine with their drinking-water, and explains their predilection for wine with the story, not attested elsewhere, that leopards have their origin in the Bacchants who murdered Pentheus. The story is told after the manner of self-contained epyllia such as those of Theocritus (cf. in particular Theoc. 26, on a Dionysiac theme: F. Cairns, *P.C.P.S.* 38 (1992) 5–6); it may well be inspired by some lost Hellenistic original.

This poet's style is highly distinctive and quite different from that of Oppian: in metre he is unpolished, neglecting not only the refinements of the Hellenistic poets, but even some Homeric norms (e.g. at 232 he breaks the rule known as 'Hermann's Bridge', which forbids word division between the short syllables of a fourth-foot dactyl, and at 238 he allows a final vowel to remain short before ζ (υἱέι Ζηνός), a licence used by Homer only before words which cannot otherwise be accommodated into the hexameter); he uses rhetorical devices with great frequency (repetition of the same word or root at 231, 241, 242, 247, 253, 269, 304–5 with variation; alliteration 247, 255); and he is a prolific coiner of new words, some dubiously formed (in the present passage the following occur for the first time in extant Greek: 236 φοιταλιεύς, 248 κλαυθμυρίς (?), 251 ἀγερμοσύνη, 258 ἀλίπλανος, 287 πυρίπαις, 298 θιασῶτις, 300 Βρομιῶτις, 334 προπροκαλύπτω, 338 σειριόεις; cf. 350 ἔρριφεν n.). Most scholars who have studied these idiosyncrasies of metre and word-formation see in them a failure to master epic idiom; but more charitable critics have argued that they are a deliberate attempt at bold innovation.

Bibl.: Edn: P. Boudreaux, ΟΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΥΝΗΓΕΤΙΚΑ. *Oppien d'Apamée sur la chasse* (Paris, 1908); A. W. Mair (Loeb, with Oppian, 1928).

230 [1306] Πορδάλιας: leopards were caught for the arena; for their pelts; and to be tamed for hunting.

καί: in addition to the method described in the preceding lines (trapping in a pit).

δῶρα: nominative.

231 [1307] δολερὴν πόσιν: finally described, after the mythological digression, at 320–53.

232 [1308] Dionysus might be thought to resent the use of his wine to trap animals associated with him.

234 [1310] χαροπαί: an adjective with a bewildering range of meanings. When used of humans it can mean 'bright-eyed' (here perhaps as a sign of pleasure); applied to animals it can signify in addition 'grim' or 'fierce'. See Gow on Theoc. 12.35.

235 [1311] ὠσχοφόροι: ὠσχοί are vine-shoots loaded with grapes carried by Dionysiac worshippers.

τριετηρίδες: celebrants of biennial (inclusive reckoning) festivals in honour of the god.

236 [1312] This line elaborates *Il.* 6.132 μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας.

237–9 [1313–15] Zeus fathered Dionysus on Semele, daughter of Cadmus son of Agenor; but when she insisted on seeing him in his true form she was incinerated by the resulting bolt of lightning (cf. 287 πυρίπαιδι, 304 πυρίσπορε). Zeus sewed the foetus into his own thigh, and (according to this poet's version of events) after giving birth conveyed the child to Semele's sisters Ino, Agave, and Autonoe.

238 [1314] πρωτόρρυτον may imply that Ino had only just begun to give milk rather than that she was the first to suckle Dionysus. There is probably an allusion to her recent loss of her own baby, Melicertes, whom she is said to have killed when driven mad by Hera as punishment for nursing Dionysus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3); hence the reference in 240 to the 'baneful halls' of her husband Athamas, who according to some accounts killed another child, Learchus. But the chronology here is rather confused, perhaps because the poet is trying to include as many well known details as possible: Pentheus (243), for example, belongs to a later stage in the story (cf. 287–317), and as son of Agave should here be himself a nursing baby, not a τύραννος.

240 [1316] ἀταρτηροῖσι: see 238 n.

241 [1317] ὅν is attracted to the masc. Μηρόν; after neuter οὔρεϊ one would expect ὅ.

Μηρόν 'Thigh-mountain', named after Zeus's 'womb' (237–9 n.). Both Meros and Nysa were usually said to be in Asia, but here the poet has followed a tradition which placed them in Boeotia near Thebes.

ἐπικλήδην καλέεσκον: imitated from the Homeric ὀνομακλήδην . . . ὀνόμαζες (*Od.* 4.278).

243 [1319] Ἐχιονίδην: Echion, husband of Agave, was one of the Spartoi (Sown Men) who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus; ἔχις = 'viper'.

245–9 [1321–5] An aetiological account of Bacchic rites and accoutrements: the fawnskins, grape-clusters, drums, and cymbals which accompany Dionysiac worship originally had a practical function. The box (244 χηλῷ, 249 λάρνακι) in which the baby was hidden is that which in Bacchic rites (249 ὄργια, 250 τελετῶν) contains the mystical (255 ἀρρήτην) objects of the god which only initiates are permitted to see.

247–8 [1323–4] A similar story is told of the Curetes clashing their shields and armour to prevent Cronus from hearing the cries of the infant Zeus: Call. *h.* 1.52–4 (*HA 325–7*), Lucr. 2.633–9, etc.

250 [1326] Ἀόνιαι: Boeotian. Cf. 276.

253 [1329] μέλλε . . . μέλλεν 'it was fated that . . .' The repetition perhaps suggests ritual solemnity.

254 [1330] γαῖα: Euboea.

255 [1331] ἀείρασαι: plural referring to the members of the χορός. The initial α- is always a short vowel in earlier poetry. Whether this poet had some precedent for ᾱ, or whether here and elsewhere (e.g. 272) he has made a mistake, is not clear: see p. 198.

257 [1333] Εὐρίπου: the strait separating Boeotia from the island of Euboea.

259 [1335] γριφέας = γριπέας, 'fishermen'.

261–2 [1337–8] The detail of the ship's being covered with foliage is borrowed from the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (7) 38–42, where pirates, who have kidnapped the god in the belief that he is a rich man, find their ship similarly entwined.

263–4 [1339–40] In the *Homeric Hymn* (51–3) the pirates do jump overboard, and are turned into dolphins; and the phrasing of ὑπὲρ πόντοιο κυβίστεον, more appropriate to plunging dolphins than to the act of jumping into the sea, may allude to that version of the myth. The story is retold by Nonnus (*Dion.* 45.105–68) and other poets.

266 [1342] ἐπ' Ἀρισταίοιο 'to the house of Aristaeus'. Son of Apollo and Cyrene, and father by Autonoe of Actaeon, Aristaeus is usually associated with the island of Ceos (*HA 86–91* n.), but some sources earlier than this poem (e.g. Ap. Rh. 4.1131–8) tell how he or one of his daughters nursed the infant Dionysus in the cave on Euboea.

267 [1343] κεράεσσιν ὑπ' ἄντρου: if this is what the poet wrote, it must refer to the overarching curve of the cave roof. But the line is probably corrupt: see the app. crit. for various approaches to emendation.

268 [1345] μυρία 'in many things', acc. of respect.

269–72 [1345–8] For the πρῶτος εὑρετής theme see *473–4, 1097, 1452–3* nn. Aristaeus is often referred to as the teacher of these and other τέχναι to mankind; the best known such account is that of Virg. *Geo.* 4.315–558, where his acquiring knowledge of how to generate a swarm frames the story of Orpheus and Eurydice.

270 [1346] I.e. he invented the olive-press.

271 [1347] πήξατο: *803* n., *1097*.

272 [1348] ἀγανάς: a 'proleptic' adj., '⟨so that they became⟩ gentle', i.e. domesticated by his invention of the hive.

277 [1353] ἑτέραις: if it is the correct reading, the fem. is used because the children are the precursors of the Dionysiac θίασος.

278–9 [1354–5] The spontaneous generation of milk, water, and especially wine is a hallmark of Bacchic ecstasy. The Messenger in Euripides' *Bacchae* reports similar phenomena (704–11).

280–3 [1356–9] Dionysus' dismemberment (σπαραγμός) and reconstitution of the rams is a testimony to his powers of rebirth and regeneration. In his earlier incarnation as Zagreus, Dionysus himself was, according to some Orphic accounts (cf. p. 208), torn to pieces by the Titans and put back together by Apollo (fr. Orph. 211, 213 Kern).

280 [1356] αὐτῇς . . . δορῇσι 'skins and all', a not uncommon idiom with αὐτός.

281 [1357] μελεϊστὶ τάμεν: a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 24.409, etc.).

283 [1359] οἱ: sc. ἀρνειοί.

284 [1360] ἐμέμβλετο 'concerned himself with', a Homeric pluperf. form of μέλω with imperf. meaning (LSJ s.v. A.III.2).

285 [1361] Θυωναίου: the name Thyone (from θύω, of the rushing of the Bacchants) perhaps originally belonged to one of the nurses of Dionysus (236, 238–9 nn.), but it came to be applied to Semele.

287 [1363] Dionysus finally arrives in Thebes.

289 [1365] οὐχὶ δετάς 'that may not be bound'.

291 [1367] Τυρίου Κάδμοιο: Cadmus, Phoenician by origin, begged his grandson to respect the new god: such a speech is presented by Euripides at lines 330–42 of the *Bacchae*.

298 [1374] παχνώθη 'was chilled with fear'.

299 [1375] θύσθλα: a word of doubtful meaning, first applied to some sort of Dionysiac accoutrements at *Il.* 6.134.

301–2 [1377–8] For the lightning and earth-tremors in Pentheus' palace cf. Eur. *Ba.* 585–603.

304–7 [1380–3] In the *Bacchae* the frenzied maenads imagine Pentheus to be a θήρ (1108, etc.), just as Pentheus had earlier wrestled with a bull (618–20); but this poet's version of the myth, in which they and their victim are metamorphosed, seems not to be found elsewhere. Their prayer is reminiscent of Achilles' wish that he could eat the raw flesh of Hector (*Il.* 22.346–7).

305 [1381] δυσώνυμον: cf. Eur. *Ba.* 367, 508, 642, where more or less explicit play is made with the similarity between Πενθεύς and πένθος.

307 [1383] διὰ στόμα δαιτρεύσωμεν 'divide him up by biting', i.e. tear him to pieces and eat him.

308 [1384] ἀρῆς 'prayer'.

309 [1385] ταῦρον ἐδείξατο 'made him appear as a bull' – a reversal perhaps of Eur. *Ba.* 618–20 (304–7 n.).
φοίνιον is masc., ὄμμα acc. of respect.

311 [1387] γλαυκιόωσαν: the word is applied by Homer to a lion's glance (*Il.* 20.172); but γλαυκός has almost as wide a range of meanings as χαροπός (234 n.).

312 [1388] κατέγραψεν: lit. 'scratched', 'inscribed', i.e. he gave them dappled hides.

313 [1389] ῥινὸν ὅπως νεβροῖσι 'a hide like that of deer', a curious comparison when the animals are in fact leopards, but suggested by the Bacchic fawnskins (νεβρίδες) worn by them as women.

315 [1391] It seems likely that in this version of the myth Pentheus was eaten; in the *Bacchae*, the fragments of his body are brought together and Agave mourns over them.

316–19 [1392–5] The poet affirms the truth of his tale, and distances himself from the better known version of the myth (304–7 n.). The claim that poets are liars is often repeated by poets themselves: cf. e.g. Call. *h.* 1.60 = *HA* 333.

318 [1394] τὰς ἀλλοτρίας Διονύσου 'alien to Dionysus', i.e. such behaviour would be foreign to human worshippers of Bacchus.

320–53 [1396–429] Hunters catch leopards by lacing their drinking-water with wine and making them drunk. The preceding story of the maenads was introduced as an aetion for leopards' predilection for wine (230–2), an idea pointed again at the beginning of the hunting-narrative by φιλακρήτοισιν (321).

323 [1399] ὀλίγη 'although it is small'.
πολλόν qualifies ὕδωρ (324).

324 [1400] ἀίδηλον: i.e. it is unclear whence the water springs.

325 [1401] μάλ' αἰνῶς 'very strangely'.

330 [1406] The line is imitated from *Od.* 3.391, where Nestor provides for his guests a bowl οἴνου ἡδυπότοιο, τὸν ἐνδεκάτωι ἐνιαυτῶι | ὤιξεν ταμίη: there ἐνδ. ἐν. means 'in the eleventh year after it was made', but here ἐνδ. λυκ. means 'eleven years ago'. Both of this poet's divergences from the Homeric line eliminate hiatus (νηδυμίοιο, λυκάβαντι) – though in general he does not avoid hiatus so diligently as Oppian and other more metrically refined writers.

335 [1411] λίνοισιν: their hunting-nets.

338 [1414] τάς: the leopards.

σειριόεντος 'scorching'; perhaps the original meaning of the commoner form σείριος before it was applied specifically to the Dog-Star.

342 [1418] χοροιτυπέουσιν ὁμοῖαι: borrowed from *1129*.

343 [1419] δέμας: acc. of respect.

προσώπατα: an irregular Homeric pl. of πρόσωπον (*Od.* 18.192) used occasionally by later poets.

χθόνα δῖαν: a Homeric phrase (*Il.* 24.532).

345 [1421] χαμάδις βάλεν: another Homeric phrase (*Il.* 7.190, etc.), as is the clausula ἄλλυδις ἄλλην.

347 [1423] εἰσέτι παῖδες: these words characterise the leopards as naive and easily deceived. Comparison of animals to humans and their activities is a common technique in didactic writers on hunting and fishing: cf. pp. 185–6, 188, 191.

348–9 [1424–5] προκαλιζόμενοι . . . κυπέλλοις: a drinking-contest with repeated toasts.

350 [1426] ἔρριφεν: an aor. of ῥίπτω found only here. Cf. *501* n.

352 [1428] μάλα apparently goes with χυθεῖσαι.

353 [1429] ὑπ' ἀγρευτῆρσι γένοντο 'come under the control of the hunters'. For this use of ὑπό + dat., see LSJ s.v. γίγνομαι II.3.c.

XIII

[Manetho]

Astrological verse seems to have been popular in the Imperial period, at least until the adoption of Christianity as official religion of the Empire. Still extant is Maximus' Περὶ καταρχῶν or *When to make beginnings*. A similar poem by Ammon is lost, as are the long and influential work of Dorotheus of Sidon (second century) and the elegiac treatise of Anubion. The best known astrological poem is Manilius' Latin *Astronomica*, dedicated to Augustus.

Manetho was an Egyptian high priest of the third century BC who used sacred archives to compile a history of his country. He certainly did not write the six books of didactic hexameters on astrology entitled

Ἀποτελεσματικά, *Influences*, attributed to him in their sole surviving MS: the author of book 5 seeks authority by passing off his work as Manetho's (he addresses Ptolemy and claims knowledge of Egyptian sacred writings), and the rest of the collection came to be attributed to the same distinguished source. The six books are transmitted in confused order. Books 2, 3, and 6 are together a complete poem, and book 4 is another; books 1 and 5 are collections of heterogeneous fragments. The author of the three-book poem gives his own horoscope (6.738–50), from which it has been calculated that he was born in AD 80. The other books probably date from the second or third centuries. The poems are for the most part bald catalogues of the likely duties, characteristics, and sexual proclivities of those born under the various combinations and conjunctions of planets and signs of the zodiac. Unlike many didactic poems, they are not embellished with similes or purple passages; their very monotony suggests that they may have been intended to be handbooks rather than poetic *tours de force*. On the other hand, their authors (particularly the author of book 4) seem to delight in the coining of new compound words, so that a galaxy of neologisms illumines the arid expanse of their subject-matter.

Astrology came to Greece from Babylonia, probably in the fourth century BC; its practitioners were known as Chaldeans, Χαλδαῖοι, and astrologers affected Egyptian-sounding names such as Ammon, Anubion, and Manetho in the hope of extra credibility. By the Imperial period astrology had gained great influence in both public and private affairs. Then, as now, reactions to its claims ranged from hostility to fascination, from credulity to scepticism; with the difference, however, that some scientists and astronomers were then to be found among its defenders. Those inclined to credit astral influence on terrestrial matters could bolster their belief not only with the then indisputable fact that the sun affects human life in many ways, and that the moon controls tides, lunatics, and the growth of oysters, but also with the highly respectable deterministic theories of the Stoics, who preached the organic unity of the physical universe and concluded that human beings are microcosms of the divine. To those who believed that every single occurrence is part of an indissoluble nexus of cause and effect stretching back to the remotest past and forward to the most distant future, it might seem entirely reasonable that the regular movements and conjunctions of sun, stars, planets, and constellations,

together with their celestial effluences, might affect things here below the moon. Whether they are matters of faith or tenets of natural philosophy, we ought not to dismiss such beliefs as unimportant. Although science long ago exploded all the arguments which once gave respectability to stellar divination, even now the Chaldean arts continue to flourish. Less superstitious members of the public have learnt with indignation and astonishment that on matters of national importance astrologers have recently been consulted by an American president, an Indian prime minister, and a British princess.

Bibl.: Edn: A. Köchly (ed. mai., Didot, Paris, 1851; ed. min., Teubner, Leipzig, 1858). Gen.: D. E. Pingree in *Encyclopaedia Britannica. Macropaedia* (15th edn, 1974) 2.221–2; G. P. Goold, *Manilius* (Loeb, Cambridge, Mass./London, 1977) xvi–cv; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899); F. Cumont, *Astrology and religion amongst the Greeks and Romans* (New York/London, 1912); A. A. Long, 'Astrology: arguments pro and contra', in J. Barnes *et al.* (edd.), *Science and speculation* (Cambridge, 1982) 165–92, T. Barton, *Power and knowledge* (Michigan, forthcoming).

271–85 [1430–44] This passage describes the signs under which acrobats, buffoons, and other shameless public performers can be expected to have been born.

271–5 [1430–4] 'When the sun is in the same house as Mars and in quartile aspect with Taurus, Leo, or Aries ...' is the basic meaning; see the notes below.

271 [1430] ἀκάμας: a Homeric epithet for the sun (*Il.* 18.239, 484).

272 [1431] Ἐνυαλίοιο 'the Warlike One', a name for Ares = Mars, the fiery planet.

θοαῖς ἀκτῖσι βολαυγῶν: the sun is under the same sign as Mars and affects it with its rays.

273 [1432] τετράγωνον ἀν' . . . ἀταρπόν 'along a quartile path'. The earth is the centre of a circle of which the zodiac is the circumference. Two points on a circle are said to be in quartile aspect when a line drawn from each forms a right angle at the centre.

274 [1433] ἀσθματικοῖο, if correct, refers either to the lion's angry pantings or to its death-rattle (Leo was thought to be a catasterism of the Nemean lion strangled by Heracles).

275 [1434] Aries, the first masculine sign of the zodiac, was associated with springtime (ἔαρ, epic εἶαρ) and generation.

276 [1435] τεύχει: the subject is ἠέλιος (271).

πονοπαίκτορας 'sporting with danger' (πόνος + παίζω), i.e. daredevils.

277 [1436] φιλόμοχθα θεατρομανοῦντας: they are stage-struck and work long hours (φιλ. adverbial).

278 [1437] αἰθροβάτας: people who tread the air as they perform acrobatics.

πηκτοῖσι . . . ἐν ἄκροις 'on the highest point of the stage-building' (usually called πῆγμα, from πήγνυμι, 'fit together').

πετευριστῆρας 'tumblers' (ἀκροβάται) who jump from the πέτευρον or springboard (lit. 'perch').

279 [1438] μεμετρημένα refers to the timing and precision of their performances.

280 [1439] χλεύης . . . ἐπιβήτορας 'masters of farce'.

281 [1440] They will embark on old age (γήρως gen.) in foreign lands, and will be buried by strangers. ἐπιβήτωρ is a favourite word with the writer of book 4; here it occurs in successive lines. Generally he uses it to mean 'at home in' or 'expert in'.

284 [1443] κρατοπλαγεῖς 'buffeted on the head' in slapstick farces.

κορυφῆισι φαλακρούς: buffoons and zanies traditionally had shaven pates.

285 [1444] Their lives provide as many ready antics as their art: lit. 'their life in its buffoonery imitates (ἀπ. gnomic aor.) their ready art'. If the MS reading ὁμοίην is preferred, the meaning will be 'whose lives are modelled on their farcical art'.

XIV

[Orpheus]

In the Imperial period private religious cults grew in popularity. Their members underwent initiation ceremonies and met together for worship of one or more gods. The 87 so-called *Orphic Hymns* were probably

written to serve as a hymn-book for such a cult. Internal evidence suggests that they date from the second or third century; and the fact that some are addressed to gods with only local appeal (Hipta, Mise, Melinoe) points to their cult having been situated in Asia Minor. They are all cletic hymns, second-person invocations containing a multitude of epithets and listing some of the god's attributes and achievements. There are hymns to abstract deities such as Αἰθήρ and Νόμος, to the Olympian gods, and to others; Dionysus has the central place in the collection. The fact that the last hymn is to Θάνατος, a deity unlikely to have received worship within a cult, reinforces the suspicion that not all of the poems were used in cult, and that some may be included for the sake of completeness. The theology of the hymns is syncretic, a mixture of conventional Olympian attributes, Stoic allegorising, and some Orphic allusions; probably they were attributed to Orpheus not because those who used them followed Orphic doctrines, but because Orpheus was reputed to be the earliest and best Greek poet: many other poems were said to be by him for the same reason (cf. p. 137 on Musaeus). Titles to most of the hymns give instructions concerning the type of incense to be burnt during their performance.

The *Hymn to Eleusinian Demeter* is typical in tone and structure: it invokes the goddess using compound epithets, relative clauses (6, 17), and second-person pronouns (12), and treats a limited number of her aspects with repetition and variation.

Bibl.: Edn: W. (G.) Quandt (2nd edn, Zurich, 1955). Gen.: W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek religion* (2nd edn, London, 1952) 257–61; I. M. Linforth, *The arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1941) 179–89; M. L. West, *The Orphic poems* (Oxford, 1983). Eleusis: N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974) 12–30 and *passim*; W. Burkert, *Ancient mystery cults* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987).

1 [1445] Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά: an allusion to the name Δημήτηρ.

πολυώνυμε is applied to many deities in the *Hymns* with reference to their various cult-titles.

2 [1446] κουροτρόφε, 'nourisher of children', is a suitable epithet for a goddess of growth and fertility; but there is probably an allusion, too, to Κόρη (Persephone; cf. 13) or to the divine child Plutus, whom Demeter bore to Iasion according to Hes. *Theog.* 969–74 (cf. 3 πλουτοδότειρα). At Eleusis the birth of a divine child was announced to the initiates as part of the mystery ceremonies. A poet who followed the stricter metrical canons of Callimachus and others would not have placed a short open vowel in hiatus with the following word; but such refinements are unknown to the composer or composers of these hymns (cf. the similar licence in line 5 σωρῖτι ἀλωαία).

ὀλβιοδῶτι: the initiates are blessed with all good things by the goddess.

4 [1448] εἰρήνηι χαίρουσα: work on the land can flourish only in times of peace: crops are not ravaged and the inhabitants are not under threat. Cf. 19.

5 [1449] σπερμεία . . . ἀλωαία: in this metre one would have expected the epic/Ionic forms in -η; but cf. 12 χθονία, 13 κούρα, 17 ἱεροθαλεῖς.

σωρῖτι: from σωρός, the heap of winnowed grain on the threshing-floor (ἀλωή).

χλοόκαρπε probably refers to the unripe grain rather than to 'green fruits' (LSJ).

8–9 [1452–3] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.341 *prima Ceres unco glaebam dimouit aratro*. The claim that a particular deity was 'first inventor' for mortals of a particular skill or craft is a standard element in hymns. On the role of Triptolemus see 14–15 n.

8 [1452] βοῶν ἀροτῆρα τένοντα 'the ploughing sinew of oxen': i.e. she first used their strength for ploughing.

9 [1453] ἀνεῖσα 'who made to spring up', of the crops liberally bestowed by her on mankind.

10 [1454] Βρομίοιο συνέστιος: because her produce is the natural complement of the wine of Dionysus (cf. e.g. Eur. *Ba.* 274–83). In mystery-cults Dionysus is often found in association with Demeter and Persephone.

11 [1455] λαμπαδόεσσ': the Eleusinian mystery ceremonies represented Demeter as wandering over the earth bearing torches in her search for Persephone, stolen away by Hades.

12 [1456] χθονία: Demeter is associated with the earth because the crops grow from it; cult represents this fact by the goddess's ascent from Hades, where she sought out Persephone.

φαινομένη, 'manifest', a common epithet in these hymns, alludes

to Demeter's appearance to her initiates in the Eleusinian mystery ceremonies.

13 [1457] κούρα: if the text is sound, the word is applied uniquely to Demeter rather than to her daughter Κόρη; but it seems likely that accidental repetition of the opening syllables of κουροτρόφε has displaced a word such as δαῖμον.

14–15 [1458–9] Demeter is conventionally depicted as riding in a chariot drawn by dragons; in vase-paintings she is most often shown, accompanied by her Athenian favourite Triptolemus, travelling over the earth to bestow the gifts and teach the skills of agriculture (*LIMC* IV (1988) 1.872–5, 2.585–9). Here, however, ἐγκυκλίοις δίναις ('recurrent circlings') suggests that the poet imagines her yoking her chariot each year in order to make the earth bear crops anew. She is said to be circling her θρόνος with ritual cries because neophytes in the mysteries were seated on a θρόνος and circled by the μύσται, who uttered loud cries.

16 [1460] μουνογενής ought to mean 'only child' or 'only daughter'; but according to the usual genealogy Rhea bore to Cronus not only Demeter but also Hera, Hestia, Hades, Zeus, and Poseidon (Hes. *Theog.* 453–5, etc.). Perhaps here the meaning is 'one and only' (of her kind) or 'having an only child'. Cf. *1203* n. on μουνογόνην.

πολύτεκνε: another unusual use: not 'having many children' (since Demeter had only Persephone), but 'giving fertility' to others.

πολυπότνια is found as an epithet of the goddess already in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (211).

17 [1461] ἧς πολλαὶ μορφαί: πολύμορφος is a common epithet in these hymns. Here it alludes to the many types of growing things which are manifestations of Demeter.

18–20 [1462–4] Closing prayers for health, wealth, peace, and good government are widely attested both in hymns and in public inscriptions from all over the Greek world.

XV–XVII

Babrius

The fable might be defined as a dramatised proverb, proving in action and often through the medium of dialogue the correctness of traditional wisdom. But as in the case of other dramatic genres, it is impossible to define where entertainment ends and instruction begins. Fable is akin to tragedy, and more particularly to comedy, in another respect. It creates its own world, radically different from yet similar to our own. Animals and even inanimate objects are endowed unrealistically with speech and communicate directly with men; yet the animals' stereotypical characteristics are realistically human. Whether spoken, written in prose, or presented in self-consciously literary verse, tales of this type exist on the boundary between the mundane and the fabulous.

Fables, probably of Near Eastern origin, existed in Greece from very early times, and were occasionally used by poets (e.g. the tale of the hawk and the nightingale at Hes. *WD* 202–12). Many came to be attributed to the shadowy figure Aesop, supposedly a Thracian slave of the sixth century BC. In the fourth century BC Demetrius of Phalerum assembled a collection of fables, perhaps to serve as a handy repository for writers of speeches and literary works. Similar collections were made in later times. Prose fables formed a part of younger pupils' education (see p. 3), both as entertaining tales for reading and as themes for composition in preparatory rhetorical exercises (προγυμνάσματα). Throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages they continued popular for both educational and moral purposes.

The position of Babrius (first or second century) in the history of fable is not clear, and nothing about him is certainly known. His 200 or so Μυθίαμβοι Αἰσώπειοι were perhaps originally published in two books. In his second proem (between poems 107 and 108 in the current numeration) he seems to state that he was the first to put fables into verse. If that is indeed his claim, he must mean Greek verse, since Phaedrus had already published iambic fables in Latin; but perhaps he means rather that he was the first to fabulate choliambically.

We can only guess at Babrius' intended audience. Despite the apparent artlessness of his style and subject-matter, it seems unlikely that his poems were aimed primarily at the classroom. His language is a curious amalgam of contemporary usage and κοινή vocabulary on the one hand, and words borrowed from higher genres on the other. His metre, the so-called 'limping iambic' (σκάζων, χωλίαμβος; cf. *proem* 1.19 σκληρὰ κῶλα, 'stiff legs'), an iambic line with long penultimate syllable, was pioneered by Hipponax, a sixth-century BC writer of bitter lampoons, and attained new popularity in the Hellenistic

period with Callimachus' *Iambi* (frr. 191–5, 203, 215–19), Herondas' *Mimiambs* (*HA* pp. 233–4), etc. No better explanation for Babrius' choice can be offered than that Hellenistic poets had changed the associations of the choliamb from satirical attack to chatty entertainment. He follows Hipponax and later choliambic writers in using the Ionic dialect, or rather in his case a slight tinge of Ionic (*1489* Καμειραίης, not -ας, etc.). No doubt he borrowed most, if not all, of his stories from existing collections.

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XV

A town mouse, unimpressed by country hospitality, invites its friend to feast in the house of a rich man; but the attendant dangers lead the country mouse to prefer its own rustic fare. No moral is stated. A better known version of this fable is that of Horace, *Satires* 2.6.79–117, where the topic is *sollicitae opes*.

1 [1465] ἀρουραῖον: Babrius very rarely ends a line with a short syllable, and the conjecture ἀρουρίτην (cf. 27) may be right. Rutherford's more obvious ἀρουραίων (sc. μυῶν) gives less good sense.

2 [1466] ταμείοις 'store-rooms'; Classical Greek uses the form ταμιεῖον.

5 [1469] χλωρόν: adverbial.

9 [1473] κρίμνα λεπτά 'thin rations of coarse meal'.

11 [1475] τὸ κέρας . . . τῆς Ἀμαλθείης 'the Horn of Plenty' or cornucopia. Accounts differed as to its origin. Amalthea was the goat, or the nymph who owned the goat, which suckled the infant Zeus. Some said that in gratitude Zeus transferred it to the stars and left one of its horns on earth to produce good things in abundance for the nymphs. See Frazer's note on Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.5.

πρὸς σέ 'in comparison with you'.

13 [1477] παρείς 'yielding up', 'abandoning': nom. sing. aor. act. part. of παρίημι.

ἀσφάλαξι: a large species of mole.

16 [1480] ποῦ for ὅπου, πῶς for ὅπως, etc., are common in later Greek.

πλήθη: pl. of πλῆθος, 'heap' – if this is the correct reading (the MS has πλήρη, and πήρη, 'wallet', is another possibility). The plural is slightly odd, and may be used for the sake of the long final syllable (1 n.).

19 [1483] παρωρμήθη 'had made an eager approach'.

23 [1487] πρόξενον 'host', 'patron'.

24 [1488] μικρὸν δ' ἐπισχών 'after a short interval', lit. 'having waited for a short time': LSJ s.v. ἐπέχω IV.2.

25 [1489] ἰσχάδος Καμειραίης: Camirus was a famous town of Rhodes, an island noted for its figs.

26 [1490] ἕτερος: another household servant.

27 [1491] ἐκρύβοντο: a 2nd aor. pass. of κρύπτω, used by later writers (=ἐκρύφθησαν).

29 [1493] περισσοῖς: cf. 10.

αὐτός 'on your own'.

31–2 [1495–6] βώλου, κρίμνα, and **τρώγω** reassert the country values of lines 6–9.

32 [1496] μή in later Greek is often used where Classical Greek would have οὐ: cf. *80*, *695*, *1005* nn.

XVI

An old lion feigns illness and devours his well-wishers; but the fox is put on its guard when it sees the one-way footprints. Moral: shun

impetuosity and learn from others' mistakes. The story is told briefly by Horace, *Epist.* 1.1.73–5 *olim quod uolpes aegroto cauta leoni | respondit referam: 'quia me uestigia terrent | omnia te aduersum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.'*

2 [1498] γεγηράκει: in late Greek the pluperfect is often unaugmented.

3 [1499] ὡς 'as if'.

5 [1501] προσποιητά 'in pretence': neuter pl. as adverb.

10 [1506] γῆρας . . . λιπαρόν: cf. *Od.* 11.136 γήραι ὕπο λιπαρῶι ἀρημένον.

ηὑρήκει: in late Greek the pluperfect is sometimes equivalent to an ordinary past tense (Moulton 3.86), and Babrius frequently uses it in that way as providing a conveniently spondaic rhythm at line-end.

11 [1507] σοφή: ἀλώπηξ is a feminine noun, perhaps because fearfulness, duplicity, and cunning, traditional qualities of the fox, were thought to be female characteristics.

15 [1511] ποικίλοις μύθοις: the artful arguments of a *consolatio*.

17 [1513] σώιζοιο 'farewell'.

ἢν . . . ἄπειμι: in later Greek usage ἐάν and εἰ become confused, and ἐάν is found occasionally with the indicative. See Moulton 3.115–16.

19 [1515] 'Not one of which can you show me coming out', lit. 'of which coming out you have not ⟨one⟩ which you will show me'.

20 [1516] προλαμβάνει πταίσας 'is the first to stumble', 'goes first and comes a cropper'.

XVII

A patient gains a witty revenge on his incompetent doctor.

Not all of Babrius' stories are beast fables: a few are human anecdotes with a more contemporary flavour. This tale of the incompetent physician and his patient is part of a long ancient tradition of satire against doctors (cf. *230–3*, *234–55*) and is more reminiscent of the χρεία genre, which retailed *bons mots* and anecdotes (see *HA* pp. 241–3), than of the moralising fable. The story is structured around two denials or verbal assassinations: the doctor pronounces his patient as good as dead, and the patient denies the doctor's status. The second denial follows from the first with satisfyingly destructive logic.

2 [1519] δέδιχθι: a conjectural restoration for the unmetrical δέδιθι. The form is attested elsewhere only at Nic. *Alex.* 443 (δείδιχθι). If correct, it must have been coined from δέδοικα by analogy with e.g. πέπισθι from πέποιθα. But here it is equally possible to restore metre by adding τι, 'at all', before δέδιθι.

5 [1521] οὐ συναπατῶ σε: if the text is correct, the prefix συν- presumably gives the nuance 'I am not joining the others in deceiving you'.

ἐνεδρεύω 'trick', lit. 'lie in ambush'.

7 [1523] 'You won't get far beyond to-morrow.'

12 [1528] *Either* the doctor is so confident in his prognosis that he believes the man to be dead, *or* he tries to pass off his mistake with a joke.

πῶς: *1480* n.

13–14 [1529–30] ἠρεμοῦσι τῆς Λήθης | πίνοντες: perhaps not merely a conventional detail of Hades, but implying that they no longer have to suffer draughts of medicine.

14 [1530] ἡ Κόρη: Persephone.

19 [1535] ἡψάμην τε τῶν σκήπτρων: as token of his solemn oath he touches Pluto's sceptre, sign of kingly power.

20 [1536] κἀπώμοσ': from ἀπόμνυμι, 'deny on oath'.

21 [1537] διεβλήθης 'you had been accused': 2nd sing. aor. pass. of διαβάλλω.

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